Television Realism:

A Semiotic Approach

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Abstract

This thesis reconceptualises the concept of realism in relation to television using a semiotic approach. The Thesis proposes that "realism" may be used as a tool for the understanding of the place of television texts in the legitimation and representation of social relations.

The theoretical approach is based on semiotic work that foregrounds the social constitution of meaning; particularly the work of Barthes on myth, Bakhtin, Kress and Volosinov. From film studies, Bordwell and Nichols are also used. The concepts drawn from their work are applied to a reformulation of realism in direct reference to the signifiers of television texts. Realism is considered in the light of these theories as not one specific form but as a property of all texts: of how a represented "world" is constructed and understood in social life.

The study focuses on a small number of the totality of semiotic resources that contribute to the construction of realism in television: camera movement, camera stability and camera position, shot duration and continuity. It provides a detailed transcription and analysis of a number of television texts from different theme areas: the news, police drama and documentary and a game/quiz show.

I propose in this thesis that the use of semiotic resources in different ways in different texts produces distinct realisms that in their represented "world" express certain values and interests in respect of wider social relations of power.

Television texts are therefore the product of changing social environments and the resources used in their production represent this.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this thesis I develop a semiotic approach to television realism in order to understand how television texts represent criterial aspects of social reality. This involves the analysis of how certain visual signifiers are used to mediate between the world of the text and the world of the viewer/reader. Such a task must take into account both a (semiotic) theory of meaning making and a consideration of the resources available to produce the television texts themselves. The central overarching questions is: how can semiotic theories assist in reconceptualising television realism? This is investigated through the following related questions: What are the specific resources (or modes) used in television production that could be analysed? What is the meaning of the form of television texts in relation to the social world?

1.2 REALISM

Definitions of realism in the study of the media have been mostly concerned with one particular regime of representation that is traditionally associated with popular drama (MacCabe, 1974; Turner, 1994; Abercrombie, 1996). The purpose of this thesis is to reconceptualise television realism in the light of social theories of reality and meaning making. In order to achieve this it is important to develop a new theory of realism and apply it to a range of different television texts to demonstrate the kinds of realism produced in them. This enables an analysis of

the use of semiotic resources that takes account of change in relation to the representation of social structures and social relations.

While television studies has established that television texts are produced from a range of codes or signs that represent and construct reality (e.g. Fiske and Hartley 1978), critical attention to the text has become less of an issue in media research in the past two decades (Nightingale, 1993, 1996; Corner, 1995, 1999; Born, 2000). The connections between forms of television texts and social relations have not been fully developed. The issue of realism presented a significant means of connecting the study of the forms of television with the production of meaning within social environments. In order to achieve this I have reconceptualised realism as a property that describes the construction of a represented "world" in a text and its relationships to the social structures and social reality of everyday life (Schutz, 1945, 1972; Berger and Luckmann, 1963).

Crucial to my examination of the production of realism is the notion of the motivation of signs. This is the semiotic theory that suggests that the form a sign takes is directly related to its meaning: that there is not an arbitrary connection between the two of them but a relationship motivated by the interests of the producer of the sign (Kress, 1993b; Hodge and Kress, 1988). Here, the sign producer chooses a form most appropriate to the meaning they wish to communicate. As such choices always take place in a social and cultural environment and in the context of a specific social occasion, the relations of power associated with the environment and the occasion will also therefore to some extent determine the form that the sign takes. The particular sets of forms

that represent specific social occasions are termed genres, after the use of genre in work on social theories of literacy (e.g. Cope and Kalantzis, 1993; Kress, 1985; Martin, 1989; Christie and Martin, 1997; Swales, 1990; Knapp and Watkins 1994; Bakhtin, 1986). From this perspective, the changing use of forms in the representation of social occasions and the production of realism is a reflection of historical and social change.

1.3 DEVELOPMENT OF RESEARCH INTERESTS

My initial aim in undertaking a PhD was to establish a means of analysing ideology in television texts. This was the basis of work undertaken in my previous academic study, a MA in Mass Communication where my dissertation discussed various approaches to the study of ideology. Drawing from Thompson (1984, 1990), my conclusion was that the approach outlined in critical linguistics (Fowler et al, 1979) had value as it considered ideology in the grammatical forms of media and other texts. At this point, my intention for the analysis of television texts was that it should be based on the spoken discourse of "represented participants" (the people or possibly things that are depicted in images. Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, 119). This had, to some extent, been the taken-for-granted content of television texts, and much has been written from a critical perspective on the language of the media (e.g. Glasgow University Media Group 1976, 1980; Bell, 1991; Chilton, 1988; Fairclough, 1989, 1995a). As the specific visual resources of television had been less dealt with using semiotic and social theories of meaning making I chose to refocus my analysis here.

This thesis has therefore been strongly influenced by work in visual semiotics that has broken ground in offering a "grammar" of the visual. It offers the potential for understanding visual texts as composed of a number of different resources or modes: texts as multi-modal. This body of work proposes that the visual and linguistic modes both operate in relation to a similar set of semiotic principles. Images have a grammatical structure and this is as meaningful as the "lexical" content (Kress, Ogborn, Martinez and McGillicuddy (1993), Kress and van Leeuwen, (1996), Oyama, (1999),Kress and van Leeuwen (2001)).

My starting point in analysing television texts was the British soap operas *Coronation Street* and *Brookside.* I concentrated on ideology as traditionally represented in the "content" of dialogue. As this did not produce what I (and my supervisor) considered to be an original enough analysis, my focus of attention turned away from the lexical content of the television text to the semiotic form of the text. This began through a consideration of the effect of the positioning of television texts in different parts of the daily schedule on the use of semiotic resources. One set of such resources is the use of colour in the sets and props, and this seemed to me a salient category or semiotic resource as its use was quite distinct within different programmes shown at different times. Also of interest to me at this point was the orientation of represented participants towards the camera or the studio audience in early morning and daytime texts. The texts I initially examined were *Win, Lose or Draw*, *The Big Breakfast*, *GMTV* and *BBC Breakfast News.* The use of colour varied between the texts and suggested different conceptions by the producers of the audience and the audiences' interest at that time of day. For example, the blue colours of *BBC Breakfast News*

signified a rather "cold" authority with the direct telling of the news as the central function. This contrasted with the "homely" browns of *GMTV* offering a comforting and perhaps familiar environment, while the unconventional bright reds and yellows of *The Big Breakfast* sought to wake up and stimulate reluctant risers.

In terms of the positioning of the viewer/reader, through the use of the camera point of view, the first text I considered was the daytime quiz programme *Win, Lose or Draw*. Here the television audience was fixed in a position that replicated that of the studio audience. From this starting point, the position of the camera as a point of view for the viewer/reader became an important consideration for me as a principle semiotic means of involving the viewer/reader in the world of the text and this became a starting point for the reconceptualisation of television realism. The issue of ideology in my research had moved from a central and totalising role to the specific examination of a part of an ideological complex (Hodge and Kress, 1988). That is, how the forms of a television text are produced within changing social environments.

Other kinds of television texts that were analysed in the early stages of this project were cookery programmes. These texts became salient as they represented a move from "mass communication" or the audience represented as a homogeneous group to a construction of the audience as consumers of a particular and specific lifestyle. For this I had looked at *Can't Cook Won't Cook*; a game/cookery show; the more traditional *Delia Smith* programme and the magazine show *The Food Programme*. In these cases, the analysis focused on

how food was discursively constructed in terms of social subjectivity: the positions that the producers of the texts expected the audience to take up in terms of their lifestyle choices. From this early analysis I have retained *Can't Cook Won't Cook* along with *BBC Breakfast News* in the thesis as examples where the viewer/reader is represented as part of a relatively fixed and theatrical style audience.

The next texts that I considered for analysis were the Police drama programmes *The Bill* from the UK and *Homicide: Life on the Street* from the USA. As I wished to compare the realism of texts from different genres, the inclusion of drama texts in the analysis was important, as it is one of the dominant television genres. I identified the use of the camera in these texts as producing images that created very different represented worlds by positioning the viewer/reader in quite dissimilar ways. I decided on using these programmes as the basis for a fuller examination of television realism as in these texts the differences in the producers' use of signifiers was particularly marked and strongly indicated different social and cultural conceptions of both the intended audience and of the theme of the texts (the Police). This analysis demonstrated clearly to me the connection between the use of specific signifiers in a television text and their social and cultural environment.

As I prepared a detailed comparison of the images in these texts, the use of the camera and the editing of shots by the text's producers in the making of realism became the centre of the analysis. I examined the documentary *Mersey Blues* as a further comparison of the use of the camera in a television text on the theme of

the police. In this text the camera was used in a manner that is generic of the "fly on the wall" documentary, and by comparing the drama texts to it, indicted the extent to which forms and meanings could be used from different genres in the making of realism. It became clear to me that the point of view of the camera, and its manipulation by producers, is a crucial means of involving the viewer/reader in the world of the television text and that the producers use of such signifiers goes some way to indicate the social occasion being represented. Through the process of transcription and particularly my analysis of *Homicide: Life on the Street*, where the editing differed considerably from that of *The Bill*, the continuity of shots emerged as a semiotic resource that required consideration along with the role of the camera position in the construction of realism.

The final text that I added to the analysis was *Channel 5 News*, which represented a relatively radical approach to television news. Its producers use forms that are not traditional to the news genre. It is therefore a useful comparison to the more conventional text, *BBC Breakfast News*, as it constructs a quite different conception of the television audience, the social world and the authority of broadcasting institutions.

1.4 Media as Technology

A social semiotic approach to realism considers the resources used to produce the represented world as particular semiotic technologies that afford certain meanings within social and cultural environments. In this thesis I have concentrated on the use of the camera as a representational resource that is used to produce signifiers.

In particular the thesis considers in detail the associated movement, stability and position or point of view of the image along with the continuity of images produced by editing and the duration of shots. I believe the technology of mounting cameras has become a key resource in the construction of realism in television texts: I discuss the camera mounting as a means of producing images of a particular kind that represent the interest of producers in creating the world of the text. This includes the hand held camera, as a form of mounting that is increasingly used across television genres.

The uneven adoption of the hand held camera in different genres, such as documentary, drama and news, indicates that the use of representational resources in the production of texts and realism is not simply a matter of technical innovation (Williams, 1974; Street, 1984; Sobchack, 2000). Rather it is related to whether the signs produced are considered legitimate and appropriate to the social occasion. A particular representational technology is always employed in relation to the conventions of the occasion, and can either maintain those conventions or to some extent defy them.

1.5 How the thesis is structured

The next chapter (Chapter 2) discusses approaches to the study of television and to the study of realism in the media in a chronological structure, beginning with media effects studies and going up to recent empirical work on the media. This is followed by a brief discussion of studies on the use of the camera in film and television.

In the theoretical chapters (Chapters 3 and 4), I discuss theories from a number of areas and integrate them around a notion of television realism that is useful in understanding how television texts represent and "re-create" the social world. The first of these areas is the semiotic. I use a theory of meaning derived principally from the semiotic work of Barthes (1973), Bakhtin (1981, 1986), Volosinov (1973), Hodge and Kress (1988) and Kress (1993b). In these cases the sign is considered from a social perspective, as to some degree representing the prevailing relations of power within and between social groups. Secondly I will consider how realism may be considered as the manner in which a television text is produced as a represented "world" that draws from and represents criterial aspects of the social reality of everyday life as selected by the text's producers. The notion of multiple realities and their relationship to the world of everyday experience is drawn from by Schutz, (1945, 1972) and the social production of reality from Berger and Luckmann (1963). Thirdly I discuss the concept of genre, and how it can be applied to television realism. Fourthly, in terms of the production of the television image itself I draw most heavily on the work in cognitive film studies of Bordwell (1985), Bordwell and Thompson (1993), the critical approach of Nichols (1991), particularly with regard to documentary film, and on Branigan (1984) for notions of point of view in film.

In Chapter 5 I outline the methodology for the collection and analysis of data. The data for the thesis are the transcriptions of specific semiotic resources in the extracts from texts. The semiotic resources that I have chosen to consider are crucial in the production of point of view and therefore how the viewer/reader is

involved in the world of the text. The transcription of the position, movement and stability of the camera along with the editing and duration of shots provide a coherent set of data for an analysis of realism, that takes as its basis the inscribed role of the viewer/reader as motivated by the interests of the text's producers.

The analysis of the extracts from the sample texts is divided into two chapters, and organised by the themes the television texts represent. In Chapter 6: Analysis One, I consider the texts that are based on the theme of the police: the documentary *Mersey Blues*, and the drama series *Homicide: Life on the Street* and *The Bill*. For the second section of analysis in Chapter 7: Analysis Two, I use texts based in a studio and have drawn upon the news programmes *BBC Breakfast News* and *Channel 5 News* as contrasting examples of the news genre. In comparison to these I use *Can't Cook Won't Cook* as a representation of a studio based text that is not the news.

The chapters of analysis are followed by the Conclusion in Chapter 8 where I draw on the preceding chapters of analysis to consider how successfully a semiotic theory of realism has accounted for the different worlds that the sample texts provide, and their connections with social reality. In particular I reflect on the relationships between social reality and the use of specific forms to construct realism, and I also consider the relationship between changing social occasions and the (changing) forms that are used to represent them. As a central aspect of this I revisit the means by which the place of the viewer/reader in the world of the text is represented in the light of the analysis of the sample television texts. The conclusion will also discuss suggestions for future research: more extensive

investigation of the multimodal aspects of realism and a wider range of semiotic resources, historical and cross-cultural comparison of television realism and the viewer/readers' own experiences of the represented world and how that is connected to their wider lifeworld and social reality.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE SURVEY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a discussion of the literature that is most relevant to this thesis and is in two sections. Firstly I will consider research into the production and reception of television and of realism. This literature is reviewed according to a number of themes that are dealt with in a broadly historical manner. These themes are Effects, Structuralism and Post-Structuralism, Cultural/Sociological approaches, Screen Theory, Audience Approaches, Semiotic, and recent empirical work. Secondly I will briefly examine literature concerning the history of the use of the camera and the production of images, specifically film images.

2.2 MEDIA EFFECTS RESARCH

Research into the media began with a concern over its effects on the audience. After the First World War, the concept of a mass audience of atomised individuals allied to the power of propaganda aided a belief that the media had direct and powerful effects, this has been termed the "magic bullet" or "hypodermic syringe" model (Curran et al, 1982, 12). This was examined from a Marxist perspective by the "Frankfurt School", for example Adorno and Horkheimer (1979), which suggested that the commodification of popular culture led directly to the production of a false and totalising consciousness.

In the years after the Second World War, in the USA, the positivist tradition of social science was used as a basis of analysing the effects of the media in terms of

psychological and behavioural effects on the audience. Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet (1944) focused on the power of the media to effect voters at election time, they concluded that the power of the media operated in a much less direct way than the previous "hypodermic syringe" model suggested; the media didn't directly control voter's choices but did have a lesser impact on how they were made. Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955) further elaborated on the revision in media effects to propose a more group-centred approach where influence was mediated through "opinion leaders". Further movement away from simplistic and direct media effects was made by Klapper (1960) and the long term impact of the media was considered by the "cultivation analysis" of Gerbner (1970, 1976, 1986).

The administrative research of Lazarsfeld had considerable influence over the study of the media. Gitlin (1978) has defined it as the "dominant paradigm" of media research in the post-war period, one where media effects were played down and there was considerable collaboration with the media industries themselves. For Gitlin this approach:

> ....enshrined short-run 'effects' as 'measures' of 'importance' largely because these effects are measurable in a strict, replicable behavioural sense, thereby deflecting attention from larger social meanings of mass media production. (Ibid, 21)

Realism and Art

In this period, discussion of realism was limited to the arts, particularly literature, photography and film. Here I will discuss two concepts of realism in relation to film: those of Andre Bazin and Rudolf Arnheim. For Bazin (1967) the

photographic process and by extension that of the film is able to reproduce reality in a more accurate way than any other medium:

> The objective nature of photography confers on it a quality of credibility absent from all other picture-making. In spite of any objections our critical spirit may offer, we are forced to accept as real the existence of the object reproduced, actually *re*-presented, set before us, that is to say, in time and space. Photography enjoys a certain advantage in virtue of reality from the thing to its reproduction. (Ibid, 13-14)

In Bazin's view the development of photography which re-presented reality in an accurate way then allowed painting to change the nature of its subjects. Painters, rather than attempting to reproduce reality through the medium of paint could concentrate on more aesthetic concerns. Bazin (1971) does not ascribe film with the power of directly translating reality, but accepts that the process is one of selection:

> The same event, the same object, can be represented in various ways. Each representation discards or retains various of the qualities that permit us to recognise the object on the screen. (Ibid, 27)

For Arnheim (1958) there is no distinction between art and photography or film based on their abilities to represent reality. His argument is based on the differences between perception and the reading of film: the extent to which a film must be understood as a film and not as mechanically reproduced reality. The conception of realism in different forms, photography, film and theatre, is valuable in that he considers the forms as having different resources in the production of art that therefore relate differently to reality:

> Thus film, like the theatre, provides a partial illusion. Up to a certain degree it gives the impression of real life. This component is all the stronger since in contrast to the theatre the film can actually portray real life - that is, not simulated-life in real surroundings. On the other hand it partakes strongly of the nature of the picture in a way that the stage never can. By the absence of colours, of three-dimensional depth, film is most satisfactorily denuded of its realism. It is always at one and the same time a flat picture postcard and the scene of a living action. (Ibid, 31)

Both Arnheim and Bazin offer insights as they both relate the image to understandings of reality in terms of how it must be understood, although they do so from quite different positions. A characteristic of the conceptions of realism in the post war period is one of aesthetic judgement. Realism, as a capacity of art, is a part of the value system that governs how particular texts are judged. The changes in media research that followed the introduction of structuralism and post structuralism theories allowed for the mundane and everyday text to be considered alongside the culturally valued.

2.3 STRUCTURALISM AND POST STRUCTURALISM

Within the past 30 years, media research has been profoundly affected by the impact of the theories of Structuralism and Post Structuralism. This has shifted attention from the direct impact of the media on the individual to its wider role and influence in society.

Structuralism took as its starting point the linguistics of Saussure (1974), though there were undoubtedly other influences (Hawkes, 1991). The key element of Saussure's linguistics that was adopted by structuralism was the concentration on the internal relations of a meaningful system of signs as constituted at one

particular moment, rather than as a historical consideration. Levi-Strauss (1966, 1968, 1970) applied the principles of Saussure's linguistics to anthropology. He proposed that cultural practices can be understood in terms of contrasting relationships:

> Like phonemes, kinship terms are elements of meaning; like phonemes they acquire meaning only if they are integrated into systems. (Levi-Struass, 1968, 34)

Roland Barthes is a central figure in both structuralist and the post structuralist ideas that follow it. Without maintaining a consistent position in relation to meaning making, Barthes contributed greatly to the development of semiotics in relation to the study of media and culture. Barthes' contributions are in a number of areas, in literary criticism he used Saussure's structuralist linguistics as a basis for his analysis (Barthes 1964,1967). In Barthes (1973) he extended the analysis of meaningful systems to broad areas of everyday culture, and in Barthes (1985) considered the system of fashion.

Barthes engaged with the principles of Structuralism in his work in the 1960s in terms of considering the interior relations of signs, the importance of narrative structure and meaning as fixed within a system. His later work may be seen as less concerned with fixed structures and more with the relative fluidity of texts and meaning. This is clear in Barthes (1977):

> We know now that a text is not a line of words releasing a single 'theological' meaning (the 'message' of the Author God) but a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash. The text is a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centres of culture. (Ibid, 146)

This movement from theories of fixed and interior relations of signs to ones where there is fluidity and wider interrelations is further exemplified in the work of Derrida and Foucault. Derrida (1976, 1979) explicitly challenged Saussure's belief in the primacy of speech over writing and of the importance of presence as a guarantor of authority. Like Barthes, Derrida considers the author not to be a dominant, single entity but rather as subject to the system of language (Culler, 1979).

Foucault's concern was to demonstrate how concepts and ideas develop as historically situated discourses. Foucault (1970, 1972), as with Barthes and Derrida, rejects the traditions of authority in texts as based on a reality that preceeds discourse with an adherence to the referent. Rather, "the truth" lies in the power of a discourse to define certain ideas, relationships and behaviour as appropriate and others as not.

The influence of structuralism/post structuralism upon media research in Britain has been considerable, particularly during the 1970s through the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham and through the film journal *Screen*. For Hall (1980a, 30) the structuralism of the early writings of Levi-Strauss and Barthes "brought culture down from its abstract heights to the level of the 'anthropological', the everyday". It was a move away from Marxist theories based on economic reduction to the micro level of practice. This influence is clearly demonstrated in Hall's (1980c) use of Barthes' semiotic reading of images to study news photographs, first published in 1972. Hall

(1980a, 37) also credits Foucault with breaking down "that dichotomy between social practices and the ways they are represented in ideologies, in discourse and in particular regimes of knowledge." Althusser (1969, 1971) was also highly influential in media studies through his definition of culture in terms of the lived experience and practices of social members.

The influence of structuralism at this point was to demonstrate that texts and meaning were cultural products, fundamentally intertwined with everyday life and practices. Furthermore it demonstrated that texts were neither the product of crude economic determinism nor of a single creator with some form of complete artistic or aesthetic control.

2.4 CULTURAL/SOCIOLOGICAL TELEVISION RESEARCH

This section considers a number of related strands in media research during the 1970s and 1980s. The work is organised under the headings of academic groups located in particular settings or theoretical areas.

Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Birmingham University

As I have discussed above, the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham University (CCCS) was heavily influenced by structuralist and post structuralist thought. Under the leadership of Stuart Hall the centre strove to develop new means for considering the relations between culture and social power, the reader and the text.

The CCCS has exercised considerable influence on the direction of the study of the media, and particularly television research. The media work of the centre in the 1970s marked a decisive break with the empiricism of American "main stream" research, in favour of a concern for the media's role in social reproduction. As Hall (1982, 69) points out this involved a thorough examination of the conception of ideology. In this ideological conception the media are crucial in the production and control of discourse through their capacity for signification. Hall explains that the move from social science to a cultural approach was a move: "from manifest meaning to the level of code" (ibid, 71).

This move is clearly represented in the journal of the CCCS, *Working Papers in Cultural Studies*, by a paper by Eco (1972) which proposes a semiotic analysis of television. Eco suggested a model for analysis of television based on iconic and linguistic codes and sub-codes that are understood in relation to "a general framework of cultural references" and the "historical-sociological sedimentation of taste". He also makes use of Barthes' distinction between denotation and connotation as different levels of meaning within messages.

Eco's proposal is also useful in that it places the active selection and production of meaning through the use of codes as central to the process of communicating meaning. The paper was part of a wider report on the specific possibilities of moving audience research in Italy away from polls and traditional social science techniques to research that took greater account of audience interpretations.

A further influential example of how the cultural approach used the notion of code in relation to television is Hall (1973). Here Hall proposes a shift from the model of communication as "sender-message-receiver" to a more complex one where the production of meaning is understood to take place through the use of "sign-vehicles". The encoding and decoding of meaning involves three broad areas: "frameworks of knowledge", "relations of production" and "technical infrastructure". The extent to which the decoding matches the encoding is according to Hall a question of to what extent these processes produce the same codes. Hall further proposes three "hypothetical positions from which the decodings of a televisual discourse may be constructed": the "dominant-hegemonic position", the "negotiated position" and the "oppositional position". This is the extent to which the viewer/reader, while understanding the literal meaning of the text, agrees or disagrees with its meaning at a political/ideological level. Hall's paper has proved to be extremely influential in the move away from the "mainstream" social science approach where the audience is tested for effects of some kind to research that considered the decodings or responses of viewers to programmes as important in their own right. Morley's (1980a) study of viewer's understandings of the television programme *Nationwide* was an explicit attempt to apply Hall's categories to television research (see below).

CCCS work on television during the 1970s involved the analysis of specific programmes such as Brunt's (1972) discussion of *Whicker's World,* and Hall, Connel and Curti's (1976) consideration of *Panorama.* Brunt argues that while the Whicker programme claims to be a documentary it is rather an a-historical and unserious representation of a world made grotesque and lacking in depth.

Brunt pays attention to Whicker's visual motif's and form of interviews in her argument, making a convincing discussion of the construction of the text and the institutional and professional environment in which it is made.

Hall, Connel and Curti's (op. cit.) study considered how a current affairs programme was constructed visually and verbally. Their analysis drew on the manner in which particular speakers were chosen and how "facts" were selected around a story or event and then encoded through systems of signification. They concluded that television debate on political issues was not biased in favour of one political party or the other, but rather its forms promoted the state/parliamentary system as a whole. This is not a given situation but one that requires continual work on the part of the media to maintain a unity in the face of contradiction and struggle between "class forces".

Along with the analysis of signifying structures in texts, the CCCS conducted ethnographic work into youth subcultures that also fed into television audience studies. Turner (1996, 103) summarises the work of the sub-culture group as:

> [emphasising] the minority rather than the majority, the subordinate rather than the dominant, the subculture rather than the culture. Studies of urban youth in Britain that drew on history, sociology and anthropology had emphasized the strategies subordinate groups used to make their own meanings in resistance to those of the dominant culture. Not only did they negotiate with or oppose the dominant, but in many cases they actively opposed and transformed (and thus subverted) dominant meanings.

Key authors in this area were Hebdige (1979), Willis (1975, 1977, 1978), Cohen (1980) and from a feminist perspective McRobbie (1978, 1980).

At the Polytechnic of Wales, Fiske and Hartley (1978) developed a semiotic approach to "reading" television, based on Barthes (1973) and influenced by Hall (1973). Their approach to television was a conscious attempt to contribute to the general trend away from the interest in manifest content in content analysis to that of the latent content or mythological. They argue that television operates in an "oral" mode, as opposed to the literary mode of the dominant culture. The oral mode includes the "dramatic, episodic, dynamic, social, ephemeral and active" and contrasts with the more formal and abstract features of the literary mode.

In relation to this thesis, the contribution of Fiske and Hartley (op. cit.) is in their use of the semiotic to consider television programmes as texts and of the construction of reality that they produce:

> Semiotics is beginning to reveal to us the extent to which our universe is 'man-made'....'reality' on television is a human construction. Furthermore it is a construction which can be analysed. Developing an awareness of how a particular reality is produced can enable us to avoid misconceptions about the nature of that reality. (Ibid, 194)

This is a sound proposition and forms a part of the purpose of this thesis: to understand how "particular" realities are constructed in television texts.

Centre for Mass Communication Research, Leicester University

The Centre for Mass Communication research (CMCR) at the University of Leicester conducted media research that ran concurrent to that of the CCCS from

the late 1960s onwards. The CMCR's work was more traditionally sociological and has been most influential in the area of political economy and the media. The director of the centre, James Halloran was instrumental in revising the sociology of the media to take more account of the whole process of media production and reception.

Halloran (1970a) argued for a broader analysis of the media than had been undertaken previously, and suggested that the area of mass communication research suffered from a lack of relevant theoretical approaches. He contended that commercial/administrative research produced little that went beyond the superficial and called for more sophisticated theories, methodologies and increased relevance to social life in media research. Halloran (1970b) addressed the issue of the representation of political events in terms of the social effects of news production, how particular news events were selected and represented. The focus on the systems and professional institutions of news in this work played a role in shifting media research away from the individual as the point of interest (Hall, 1980a). Subsequent work would pay more attention to the consideration of wider social concerns.

Aspects of Halloran's manifesto were taken up at the CMCR in terms of a political economy of the media and in the analysis of television production. The political economy of the media is exemplified in the work of Murdock and Golding (1974, 1978, 1989), Murdock, (1982) and Golding (1986). Here, the economic structure of media industries, in terms of the concentration of

ownership for example, were directly related to media access and programme production.

The Centre's work in the production of television concentrated on news and documentary programmes. Elliott (1972) describes the production process for a television documentary series *The Nature of Prejudice*. Elliott focused firstly on the research for the programme and the relationship between the producers and their contacts in the selection of the programme's content and its organisation into the programme itself. He then asked a sample of viewers to fill out questionnaires about the programme. Elliott concludes that from the production side, television inherently provides limited views of a culture that tend to reinforce existing and established views. From the perspective of the audience he believes that the wide range of reactions about the same programme suggest that communication via television is too fragmented to get a message across to a significant "mass" of the audience.

Golding and Elliott (1979) conducted a cross-cultural comparison of news production in Nigeria, Sweden and Ireland, beginning with a historical discussion of the development of news in the three countries covered. They then examined the broadcasting policy in each country, and detailed the production of news in the newsrooms of their sample organisations and the professional background of the news journalists. The news itself is analysed by its content, in some depth in terms of the length of the story, mode of presentation (newscaster / reporter / interview etc.), who appears, from which geographical location, and the basis of the story in terms of type such as Political, technology, entertainment and so

forth. Their conclusions draw on Hall (1970) to suggest that the producers of news within the institutional structures of broadcasting are incapable and unwilling to represent "social change or of displaying the operation of power in and between societies" and thereby "portray a world which is unchanging and unchangeable" (211).

The content analysis demonstrated here is a rather crude tool for the examination of news and its relationships to society, though Golding and Elliott are accurate in their conclusions. However, they do not see the process of production as a key to its representation. The form of analysis leads to the quantification of news in terms of stories as "units", and therefore they lose sight of the news text in terms of its forms and processes of representation.

It is worthwhile to consider other studies of television news to appreciate the range of approaches in terms of the methodological framework and the implications for the construction of realism. Schlesinger (1978) used the BBC newsroom as the location for an ethnography of news journalists. His aim was to examine the routine practices and roles of the staff in relation to the institutional systems in which they operate. He provides a historical approach to BBC News and questions in particular notions of impartiality and professional identity. Schlesinger does demonstrate to some extent the relationship between the organisational structure and the production of news. However, he offers no detailed examination of a news text or a consideration of "reality" and its relationship to the news reporting or the form of the news itself and hence offers little scope for analysing the construction of realism.

Altheide (1977) draws attention to the news process itself as the creator of news rather than a representation of pre-existing events or facts, through an account of the news environment of journalists and editors in local and national news. His case study of the Watergate affair is used to demonstrate how relatively common events were constructed by the news media as extraordinary. For Altheide the work routines and orientation of journalists are crucial to how reality is constructed and represented:

> Social phenomena are influenced - and actually constituted - by cultural and social meanings. Unlike physical things, human events cannot be divorced from the interpretative process that create them. (Ibid, 178)

Altheide's formulation provides a basis for appreciating the construction of the news in relation to social and cultural relations and for a social conception of realism as fundamental to the understanding of news.

There has also been research on the production of non-news programmes, where the instituational and production context are examined in detail. Alvarado and Buscombe (1978) dealt with the "private eye" drama series *Hazell* in a detailed description of the production process and without any description of the text itself or an engagement with the audience of the programme. Tulloch and Alvarado (1983) examined the Science fiction drama series *Doctor Who* "in terms of the industrial, institutional, narrative, generic, professional and other practices" (Ibid, 2). As with Alvarado and Buscombe (op. cit.) the text itself was not investigated in any detail, and the audience beyond several "expert" fans was not consulted.

The analysis of television production is useful in gathering information about the specific interests and decisions of programme makers within institutional contexts and constraints. Where it is allied to a social theory of interpretation and meaning making, as with Altheide (op. cit.) then it offers potential for integration with a social theory of realism.

Glasgow Media Group

The sociological analysis of television news by the Glasgow Media Group (1976, 1980) employed similar methods to Golding and Elliott (op. cit.). They used observations of newsroom practice and statistical content analysis on twenty-two weeks of television news from the British terrestrial channels BBC 1 and ITV. Their focus is more precisely located on the cultural power of the news and the process by which it manufactures news:

> ....as reflecting not the events in the world 'out there' but as the manifestation of the cultural codes of those employed to do this selective and judgmental work for society. (1976, 13)

The central focus of the first volume of their study (1976) is industrial news and specifically the coverage of strikes. They found that television news consistently under represented the views of workers in comparison to the management of industrial companies and at a deeper level constructed the discourse of economic and industrial issues so as to blame workers themselves for the nations economic problems (Ibid, 267)

The second volume of the Glasgow Media Group's analysis (1980) deals more specifically with a linguistic and visual consideration of the news. The wider concern of the visual analysis undertaken here was to consider the relationship between the images and the accompanying language. The Glasgow Media Group used a Peircian formulation to refer to images as either an index, symbol or sign according to the extent to which the image operated independently of the commentary or the image's meaning was directly referenced. Their aim in concentrating on this specific issue is to consider the relationship of image and language in the production of the news: whether the manner in which the news is constructed is determined by the visual material available or by the imperatives of a written "journalistic" narrative.

Their conclusion claims that visual representation in the news mitigates against the working class, as the other modes of the news texts do. Their evidence for this is based on the fact that union members are given lower status because they are not named in graphic captions, as opposed to management and politicians who are named. While it is possible to agree with their claims that the use of visual forms is ideological, and that there are in this study many valuable reflections on the production and use of images in the news, they do not make the most out of their evidence. Their description of the visual medium was used to extend their claim that television news is dominated by the same process of agenda setting as is found in the newspaper industry: the images of television news are secondary to the written commentary. It was not then an examination of the visual as a resource in itself or of the specific uses of different visual and linguistic modes in the process of producing the news.

More recent work from the Glasgow Media Group, such as Philo (1999) has continued the tradition of critical analysis and in particular taken issue with post-modern theories of the media audience. Here, the Group used extensive interviews with audience members, who had viewed a variety of different texts; these included the film *Pulp Fiction*, media coverage of mental illness, British soap operas and reports on Africa. Their conclusion is that the audience cannot make any meanings they like from a text, but rather that in general they either accept and believe what is presented or reject it:

> In conclusion, it would be wrong to see audiences as simply absorbing all media messages....But it is also wrong to see viewers and readers as effortlessly active, creating their own meanings in each encounter with the text. Our work suggests that the media can be a powerful influence on what audiences believe and what is thought to be legitimate or desirable (Ibid, 287)

While it is certainly possible to agree that the media does have a "powerful influence" on audiences and on society, this does not contradict a conception of meaning that allows for the audience to be themselves producers of meaning, as long as it is understood to be taking place within a social environment where relations of power are considered crucial to the analysis.

Realism Studies 1970s – 1980s

In this period – the 1970s to 1980s - theories of realism began to engage with television as an important medium and moved away from concerns about aesthetics to consider realism in the context of social and economic issues.

Raymond Williams (1977b) charts the development of realism in drama in terms quite usefully of social change and social relations, marking out eighteenth century bourgeois drama as making three crucial innovations:

> ....that the actions of drama should be contemporary (almost all earlier drama, by convention, had been set in a historical or legendary past); that the actions and resolutions of drama should be secular (conceived and worked through in solely human terms, without reference to a supernatural or metaphysical dimension); and that the actions of drama should move beyond their conventional social exclusiveness (tragedy as confined to (Princes) and include the lives of all men. (Ibid, 3)

Williams in particular refers to the material forms of the production of a television text and of the social relations between participants in both the production and of the reading of a text:

> The actual production process is a complex of material properties; of processes of signification within these; of social relations between producers and between producers and audiences; and then the inherent and consequent selection of content. (Ibid, 4)

Williams contrasts naturalism with realism in theatrical drama, the former confining character development to their environment, whereas the latter sought to show that change was possible and social relations dynamic:

> ....showing character and environment not as fixed forms but as processes of formation, crisis, breakdown and re-formation - have to be seen not as formal 'anti-realist' innovations but as attempts to signify and realise this new sense of dynamic reality. (Ibid, 5)

Williams concludes that television drama has the potential, under realism, to establish and represent new and changing social relations within society, and that

it must be inclusive of experiences that have otherwise been marginalised or ignored altogether. Realism can then potentially provide access to:

> ....procedures of mobility, discontinuity, alternation of viewpoint, within the terms of altered social relations, and thus the deliberate innovation of dramatic processes of formation, crisis, breakdown and re-formation, within a consciously contemporary, secular and socially transforming perspective. (Ibid, 6)

Williams' proposal recognises that material resources are used in the production of a text as representing and reproducing social relations. His use of realism as a term that combines the material production and potential of representational resources, the social relations of producers and audiences and wider social environment is important to the aims of this thesis as a means for the examination of television texts. Where this thesis differs from Williams, and hopes to offer an advance, is in the application of realism to genres other than drama in television, though television drama is also included for the purposes of contrast and comparison. Despite Williams' radical suggestions for realism in television drama, it is important to apply the clear aims and principles he devotes to that specific area to a wider field of television's repertoire of forms and meanings. As each text is created within social relationships it is reasonable to apply the same theoretical considerations to all genres and not just to drama.

Lovell (1980) offers an analysis of realism from the tradition of Marxist cultural analysis. For Lovell, the consideration of realism in the cultural studies of the 1970s, through the use of Althusser, had moved away from an examination of the real as related to underlying relations of production to a much more conventionalist approach where the real was merely a discursive convention.

Lovell proposes a theory of realism that is able to navigate between empiricism and conventionalism, between the purely objective and purely subjective:

> Realism's criterion of truth recognises that theories must be consistent and coherent. But finally, like empiricism, realism rests upon the notion of correspondence to reality. Unlike empiricism, however, the reality to which theories correspond is not for the realist, identical to the empirical world: the world as it exists at the level of sense data, generated through observation and experiment. (Ibid, 19)

Lovell wishes to assert that claims about texts should be made against an independently existing reality, a reality that is grounded in unequal relations of production in its "deep structure".

Ellis (1982) accurately describes the position of realism in film and television as

> ....used to cover a whole series of ideas and expectations, some of which can conflict with each other. The question of realism is a complex one, but it is complex because the word itself is being used to describe a whole series of principles of artistic construction and of audience expectation alike. (Ibid, 6)

Ellis' broader definition of realism takes account of the relationship between the text and the audience but only in the sense of the "content" of the text:

> The particular representation (film or TV programme), should have a surface accuracy; it should conform to notions of what we expect to happen; it should explain itself adequately to us as audience; it should conform to particular notions of psychology and character motivation. (Idem)

These are the four basic types of realism as Ellis sees them, based around the notion of "accuracy" to what is presumably a concrete reality that audiences

inhabit: (1) "accuracy of costume, setting and props"; (2) accuracy to "common sense and taken-for-granted notions of events"; (3)"a demand for adequate motivation of events in the sense that events should always be seen as having explicable causes" and (4) where "the motivation for events is placed centrally upon the psychology of individual characters, who are taken as the unifying point in a representation." (Ibid, 7-8)

However Ellis is flexible in recognising that the different types of realism he describes interrelate in complex way, though not in this formulation in relation to social forces:

> Hence there is no realism, but there are realisms: a series of arguments, justifications, and procedures for the production of representations alike....the notion of realism is not a simple given, not a result of the camera's ability to record light and the tape's to register vibrations in the microphone. (Ibid, 8)

Hall (1982) criticises the approach to television that saw it as a "window on the world":

> Its propositions and explanations were underpinned by this grounding of its discourse in "the real" - in the evidence of one's eyes. Its discourse therefore appeared peculiarly a naturalistic discourse of fact, statement and description .... it would be more appropriate to define the typical discourse of this medium not as naturalistic but as *naturalized*: not grounded in nature but producing nature as a sort of guarantee of truth. (Italics in original.) (Ibid, 75)

Hall accurately points out the need to see television as constructed by "skilful and elaborate procedures of coding: mounting, linking and stitching elements together" (Ibid, 76) and that the appearance of reality produced by television is merely an effect, a product of the kind of representational resources available to

the medium. Hall then draws out the implications for a theory of ideology: that the "naturalistic illusion" of television connects closely to Marx's notion of ideology that "grounds itself in the surface appearance of things." (Idem)

Heath (1974a) describes reality in similar terms as a construction of actual practices that constitute social life as ideological:

> Reality, that is, needs to be understood not as an absolute and immutable given but as a production within which representation will depend on (and dialectically, contribute to) what the French Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser has described as 'practical ideology', a complex formulation of *montages* of notions, representations, images and modes of action, gestures, attitudes, the whole ensemble functioning as practical norms which govern the concrete stance of men in relation to the objects and problems of their social and individual existence; in short the lived relation of men to their world. (quoted in Coward and Ellis, 1977, 35)

Screen Theory

During the 1970s, the predominantly film based journal *Screen* published a body of work concerned with the relationship between text and subject that became known collectively as "Screen Theory". This work applied semiotic and psychoanalytic theories, such as those of Metz (1974, 1982) and Lacan (1968, 1977, 1979), along with concepts of ideology derived from Althusser (1971) to a produce a theory of the reader or viewer as "subject". The basic premise of this work was that the reader's subjectivity was positioned by the narrative structure of the text, through an ideological process of interpellation and of the Lacanian concept of "the look". This left the viewer/reader with little ability to use their own judgement or experience in understanding a text. Nor did it take into account the social contexts and relations that affect both production and

reception. While the development of Screen Theory was contemporaneous with both centres of social/cultural research into the media (as described above) it had little if any point of contact with them. Central texts within *Screen* Theory include Mulvey's (1975) work on the pleasure of the image; MacCabe's (1974, 1975, 1976) conception of the "classic realist text" (described below) and of a psychoanalytic approach to cinema and pleasure; and Heath's translation of Christian Metz and explication of Freud and Lacan (1973, 1974b, 1978).

Coward and Ellis (1977) examine structuralism and semiology using Marx and Lacanian psychoanalytical theory. The intention is to produce a materialist conception of language, significatation and ideology. Their work provides a detailed discussion of the formation of the subject in terms of ideology and language and points to the gaps and failings of traditional marxism in dealing with the complexity of the issue. Realism is discussed in literary terms when applied to the visual medium of the cinema and like MacCabe (1974) is charged with fixing the subject in a homogenous position of simply "watching" rather than being engaged in an active process of meaning making (Coward and Ellis, op. cit. 50).

Within the domain of Screen Theory and beyond, Colin MacCabe's (1974) definition of realism in film as a parallel to the realist novel of the 19th century has been highly influential (Lapsley and Westlake, 1988, 170). MacCabe's approach to realism is based on the narrative form of the text, whether film or book:

> A classic realist text may be defined as one in which there is a hierarchy amongst the discourses which compose the text and this hierarchy is defined in terms of an empirical notion of truth. (MacCabe, 1974, 8)

MacCabe's concern was with the way in which film texts, through the construction of their discourses, encouraged the viewer to succumb to the supposedly transparent telling of the story. The form of the film attempted to make its discourse "obvious", presenting relations as natural rather than constructed:

> The narrative discourse cannot be mistaken in its identifications because the narrative discourse is not present as discourse - as articulation. The unquestioned nature of the narrative discourse entails that the only problem reality poses is to go and look and see what *Things* there *are*. The relationship between the reading subject and the real is placed as one of pure specularity. The real is not articulated - it is. (Ibid, 12)

This meant that the "classic realist text", the predominant form of popular culture, could not deal with the contradictions of social life and was therefore bound to reproduce the dominant ideology. The antidote for MacCabe are texts that break down the conventions of transparency and therefore force the viewer to contemplate the text as a product of ideologically motivated conventions. Notable examples of this for MacCabe were the work in film of Jean-Luc Godard and in the theatre by Bertold Brecht. The preference for the avant-garde over the popular, however, laid Screen Theory open to charges of elitism and of deliberate obscurity in its use of psychoanalytical theory, even from within the ranks of *Screen* itself (Buscombe et al, 1975).

While MacCabe's approach to realism brought ideology into the study of film as central to the construction of texts through specific forms, it restricted the application of the conception of "classic realism" to one generalised kind of text and a highly pessimistic view of popular culture.

Firm criticism of the Screen Theory's reliance on Lacan and theories of the subject came from the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham: Hall (1980b) and Morley (1980b). They point to the lack of a place in Screen Theory for the concrete individual who relates to a wide variety of texts in their social circumstances and that an all encompassing theory of language and the subject is incapable of dealing with historically located discourses. Morley concludes that: "there must be different realisms, not a single 'classic realist text' to which all realist texts can be assimilated". (Ibid, 169)

Some debate which followed MacCabe's theory of the classic realist text centred around a BBC drama series, *Days of Hope,* and whether a classic realist text could successfully depict social contradiction and class struggle, or as MacCabe suggests, conventional realist forms are incapable of representing social complexity. MacArthur (1975, 143) commented that the notion of the Classic realist text was: "functioning at such a level of generality as to cast doubts on its operational usefulness" and that:

> My hunch is that we must think in term of Realisms and that a particular Realism will be progressive or conservative/reactionary not only to the extent to which its subject-matter is in contradiction with the dominant ideologies in that society, but the extent to which its formal strategies mark a departure from the dominant film or television discourses of that society. (Idem)

Bordwell (1985, 18-20) contests MacCabe's reduction of narrative to competing discourses within a text, as it reduces realism simply to the use of one resource (the camera) and the visual as the guarantor of discursive truth:

> .... all materials of cinema function narrationally - not only the camera but speech, gesture, written language, music. color, optical processes, lighting, costume, even offscreen and offscreen sound.

In the face of such criticisms MacCabe altered his position and in MacCabe (1985), he comments on MacCabe (1974) stating that:

> Although I think that the earlier article can be read in a more favourable light, there is no doubt that it is contaminated by formalism; by a structuralism that it claimed to have left behind....The position outlined in my article made the subject the effect of the structure (the subject is simply the sum of positions allocated to it)....it is impossible to demand a typology of texts such as I proposed in my earlier article. Rather each reading must be a specific analysis which may use certain general concepts but these concepts will find their articulation within the specific analyses and not within an already defined combinatory. (MacCabe, 1985, 77)

MacCabe's partial retraction of the excesses of Screen Theory in positioning the reader so firmly by the text adds to the value of his conception of realism. MacCabe's reformulation moves the process of meaning making from the text as sole authority to the interrelationship between the text and the viewer/reader.

The developments in cultural and sociological television research during the 1970s have fundamental consequences for realism. Cultural studies attention to the socially producing meanings of television and their relationship to the production and control of discourse and "common sense" are particularly relevant

to realism. Rather than being a question of aesthetic attributes, from a cultural perspective, realism should be considered as the means by which texts are integrated into everyday life, and always a product of relations of power within society.

2.5 INTERPRETATIVE AUDIENCE RESEARCH

Towards the end of the 1970s, media research was beginning to shift to a more interpretative framework for understanding the media, which involved more attention being given to audiences and somewhat less towards the text and its production. Central to this change was the work of the CCCS in Birmingham, although *Screen* also showed evidence of taking such shifts into account (for example Willeman, 1978 and Neale, 1977). Hall (1973) was a crucial work in this process. Hall's conception of encoding and decoding significantly altered the discourse around television and the context of viewing as one where the audience does not necessarily "decode" in the manner the producers of the text anticipate or are ultimately able to control. Eco (op. cit.) also suggested a more interpretative means of considering the television message through the use of semiotics. The research methodology he proposed there was explicitly taken up by Morley (1980). Morley's pioneering study sought to examine the relationship between the decodings of an audience and their class, socio-economic and educational position, in response to viewing the news magazine programme *Nationwide.* The purpose being to identify:

> .... the specificity of communication and signifying practices, not as a wholly autonomous field, but in its complex articulations with

> questions of class, ideology and power, where social structures are conceived of as also the social foundations of language, consciousness and meaning. (Ibid, 20)

The "audience" for Morley's study consisted of 18 groups that represented specific social and educational classes including "black" and "white" members such as apprentices, students, schoolboys and trainee bank managers, who were interviewed in institutional settings as part of a university course. Morley uses Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital and Bernstein's theory of culturally determined codes to analyse the responses of the audience to the text. He contends that some members of the audience groups do not have the cultural capital or appropriate knowledge of cultural codes to read the programme in the manner the producers intend. Drawing from Hall (1973) Morley classifies the readings of the audience in terms of dominant, negotiated and oppositional codings. His findings were that those most politically or culturally distant from the producers of *Nationwide* (shop stewards and black people) took an oppositional position, while those closer (management trainees and apprentices) accepted the dominant position.

Morley's study has proved to be highly influential in the development of research in audience interpretations of television. Indeed it has been taken as the starting part for the tradition of semiotic/cultural studies research in television audiences as a whole (Lewis, 1990, 162). Fiske (1987b, 63) asserts that "This work of Morley helped to establish ethnography as a valid method of studying television and its viewers." Although the scope of the research was limited by the bounds of the encoding/decoding model, it established important areas of concern in

television research: the social and cultural process of actual audience members' meaning making in relation to specific television texts.

Hobson's (1982) examination of the soap opera *Crossroads* marked a further important development in cultural studies and media research. Following Hobson (1980), Hobson (1982) took the study of audiences to their own particular environment, interviewing the audience of *Crossroads* in their own homes. However, Hobson combined this with a consideration of the production of the programme, the structure of regulation around it and reports and discussion in the media. Hobson sought to validate the experience and attitudes of the audience to a programme that was much maligned by critics:

> Conventional criticism is rooted in the traditions of literary critical theories, which demand that certain arbitrarily-defined standards are imposed on any piece of writing, whether it be a novel, poem or drama. This form of criticism stems from the idea that a work of art is separated from its audience and should be appreciated for certain qualities contained in the work. It is based on the notion that to understand a work of art you have to have a 'key' to unlock the secrets; these are the tools of critical analysis. This notion has been turned on its head in relation to Crossroads because the critical attacks on it suggest that its viewers do not have any critical faculties precisely because they like the programme. This is clearly elitist and nonsensical. What the viewers of Crossroads reveal is that they bring critical faculties that are rooted in everyday experiences and common-sense, and not some arbitrary critical theories. (Ibid, 171)

Hobson's work was a development of the ethnographic studies undertaken by the CCCS in the area of sub culture (discussed above) and proved to be an important step towards a more audience centred understanding of television. Following Hobson, the attempt to locate television audiences within their own world has taken on increasing significance.

Radway's (1984) study of the responses of women readers to romance fiction used a framework based on the cultural anthropology of Geertz (1973). Radway's work was a:

> .... study of the complex social process beginning with the publication of books within an institutional matrix and culminating in the actual construction of texts by real women who inhabit a particular social world. (Radway, op. cit., 12)

Radway sees the romance readers use of the books as a means of contesting the dominant patriarchal order of society. Rather than being patronised by romance fiction, the woman's positive responses to the texts and re-evaluation of themselves promoted by the books proves that:

> .... although the ideological power of contemporary cultural forms is enormous .... that power is not yet all-pervasive, totally vigilant, or complete. (Ibid, 222)

While not related to television specifically, Radway's study has influenced interpretative work in the media generally in terms of gender relations and of power relations between text and audience.

Ang (1985) made a further contribution to the study of the television audience's reactions and feelings towards to a particular programme. In this case, Ang analysed letters written in response to an advert for fans of *Dallas* to explain why they enjoyed or didn't enjoy the programme. Ang makes interesting points about how the audience relate to the text in terms of what is realistic and what is not in their terms. She also contrasts approaches from the empirical and structuralist

conceptions of realism, and points to the lack of attention given to audience pleasure in relation to studies of ideology in popular culture. In terms of realism, Ang contrasts the literal, denotative reading of *Dallas* by its viewers as unrealistic and far from their everyday lives with a connotative reading of the text at an emotional level. The viewers who responded to Ang considered *Dallas* to be realistic in relation to an "emotional reality" rather than an empirical one and it is with this that Ang contrasts more traditional concepts of realism:

> According to the empiricist-realists a text is realistic (and therefore good) if it supplies 'adequate knowledge' of reality, while in the second conception a classic realist text is bad because it only creates an illusion of knowledge. But the realism experience of the *Dallas* fans quoted bears no relation to the cognitive level-it is situated at the emotional level: what is recognized as real is not knowledge of the world, but a subjective experience of the world: a 'structure of feeling'. (Ibid, 45)

Ang's contrast between an emotional and a rational realism is based on the reactions of a small number of fans to a particular programme. While it is a suitable means of discussing opinions of *Dallas* it is unclear how such a construction of realism would work when applied to other kinds of television texts and what it would reveal of the process of meaning making. The involvement required in the watching of television can be an emotional experience. But I believe that an investigation of realism needs to begin with the close attention to the forms and resources used in texts and their potential motivations in order to unravel the complex processes of reading and understanding television. The notion of emotional realism separates the material content of *Dallas*, the wealth and circumstances of the represented participants, to concentrate on the relations between and experiences of the represented

participants. However, the focus of attention is still within the bounds of those conceptions of realism where the story/narrative is the content. Ang here does not engage with the text itself in any detail, relying instead on the words of the respondents and her own observations on the serial. Ang's work here represents a significant contribution to the turn towards audiences of popular media culture as a legitimate area of investigation.

Tulloch and Moran (1986) combined an analysis of the production of the Australian soap opera *A Country Practice* with a consideration of its viewers and dedicated fans. An issue here was the extent to which media power was located in the institutions and practices of the television industry in contrast to the audience's active construction of meaning from the text:

> .... we believe that meaning is contested and re-made by different production personnel and by different audiences...On the one hand is the negotiation of meaning in production and performance among the different sources of information - writing, acting, directing, set design, lighting and so on. On the other is the general audiences involvement in constructing meanings. (Ibid, 11)

This work indicates a moment in the development of audience research, where the production of the television text is still considered as important but related to the negotiation of meaning, rather than its imposition. Like Hobson (op. cit.) the interviewing of sample audiences is undertaken in their own environment: in this case the home and the school.

Indeed the direction of interpretative media audience research was at this point turning to the domestic environment in which viewing took place. Morley (1986,

14) sought to examine "how people watched television in its more "natural" setting, At home with their families". He saw this as an advance on the *Nationwide* project (Morley, 1980), which had interviewed viewers in groups within educational settings. Morley was influenced by previous work on the family viewing context of television such as that by Lull (1980, 1982) and Lindlof and Traudt (1983).

Buckingham (1987, 1993, 1996) is primarily concerned with the child audience of television and particularly their responses to it. Buckingham (1987) looks at the production and audience responses to the popular soap opera *Eastenders*. He does not consider the text itself in any detail, and is dismissive of the notion of the text as a single unified object:

> Indeed in the case of Eastenders, it is almost impossible to isolate the text at all, not merely because it remains unfinished, but also because of the complex variety of ways in which it has become embedded in everyday social interaction. To suggest that the programme merely imposes meaning on viewers is to oversimplify the process, and to accord it a degree of power it does not possess. (Ibid, 202)

Viewers themselves are part of:

> ....interpretive communities which have different orientations to television, and may use it as a means of negotiating social and cultural identities in quite diverse ways. In this sense, different social groups may employ different 'television literacies', or different modalities of literacy, which have different social functions and consequences. (Ibid, 34)

Buckingham's research concentrates on the audience to the point where the text becomes irrelevant and is hardly considered as a part of the process of meaning

making at all. The effect of this is not to examine the social context of communication but rather to individualise it. An audience cannot make meaning without a text, and while it is certainly the case that members of the audience read texts in different ways, they also share meanings that are derived from the representation of the social world through texts. It is quite possible to assert, as I do in the following chapters, that meaning is never objective nor resides wholly within a text and at the same time that audiences have an active role in reading and understanding texts that are bounded and produced through specific conventionalised forms. Buckingham moves so far to one extreme position, that the audience is all that matters, and therefore a central aspect of social communication is ignored completely.

Katz and Liebes (1985, 1990) undertook a further examination of the *Dallas* audience. Their examination sought to identify differences in reading between small groups of couples from different cultures in different nations: Israeli Arabs, new immigrants to Israel from Russia and Morocco and members of a kibbutz and groups from Los Angeles. Their study found considerable differences in the interpretations of the programme by the different groups. They conclude that the more culturally distant groups, Arab and Moroccan Jews, considered the text to be closer to real life than the culturally more proximate groups of American and Israeli Jews.

Realism Studies: 1980s onwards

During the period in which audience study has become increasingly important, the analysis of realism and television has continued to develop. Though the arguments have taken on board some of the fundamental aspects of media research and represent changes taking place in the study of media and culture. Corner (1992) provides a considered discussion of realism and television. His starting point is that the notion of realism in Television studies is in crisis:

> Broadcast Television's institutional nature, generic order and modalities of viewing pose questions about text-reality relations in ways significantly different from either cinematic or literary forms, and although this difference has been recognized, there has been a failure to take the full measure of it theoretically. (Ibid, 98)

Corner divides realism into two different "projects", the project of verisimilitude (of being *like* the real) and the project of reference (of being *about* the real). Though one clear difficulty with this split is the notion of reference. This concept suggests that the text and reality are separate entities so that a text refers to something other than itself that is real. In disagreeing with this I would cite Eco (1977, 61) who suggests in his theory of semiotics that a sign or code does not "designate any object, but on the contrary *conveys a cultural content*". The conception of the real outlined in this thesis suggests that the relationship between the text and the audience's reality is not one of reference but rather one of construction and reconstruction in which texts take a part in the process of agents' own understandings of reality.

C. Williams (1994), in a reply to Corner (1992), presents a wide ranging discussion of realism in film and television. Principally he uses the opportunity to critique MacCabe's (1974) notion of the classic realist text, as well as the

political basis and conception of ideology that he suggests is common to Corner and MacCabe. In so doing, C. Williams makes some useful contributions to a theory of realism based on the use of conventionalised resources, he describes the potential process of the use of conventions:

> ....the pursuit of nonconventional or anticonventional means of art and communication (which, if successful, contribute to the creation of new conventions) and also the more gradual evolution of new forms of conventions within the existing bodies and frameworks of expression. (Williams, 1994, 281)

While it is possible to agree with C. Williams in his comments on MacCabe's notion of the classic realist text in cinema, and applaud his support for role of conventions in meaning making and realism, there is also a need to show concern over his dismissal of ideology and any notion associated with Marxism. A conception of realism needs to be connected to a social or critical theory of meaning making if it is to be a tool for the analysis of texts and social change and social relationships. The inadequate notion of realism that C. Williams dismisses, that is MacCabe's and Corner's, is seen as the result of a lack of interest in television studies for "aesthetics, communication and consumption" (idem). He claims that instead of this, the study of television has been preoccupied with politics and ideology as fashionably general notions. Despite C. Williams' claim that realism is heterogeneous and multiple he does not demonstrate in what way realisms might differ nor what realism itself may actually be. The paper demonstrates the confusion and contradiction of the use of realism in the mixture of film and television theory that these writers, Corner and C. Williams, comment upon.

Juhasz (1994) does take more account of the actual conventions of television and video that are considered "realist" and the supposed effects they have, which she critiques:

> To portray the world with a realistic film style does not necessarily imply that the reality portrayed is fixed, stable, complete or unbiased, although it probably means one has an opinion about what this reality means, feels like, how it functions, or how it can change (Ibid, 175)

Her paper is intended as a defence of the "realist" style as a means of making radical feminist documentary in the face of feminist critics who, after *Screen*, claim the realist style is inherently conservative and unchallenging. Juhasz quotes Kaplan (1983, 127) as an example of this: "the filmic processes leave us no work to do, so that we sit passively and receive the message".

Abercrombie (1996) deals specifically with realism in television programmes, and offers three features that identify realism in a text:

> First, realism offers a "window on the world". In the case of television, there is no mediation between the viewer and what he or she is watching. It is as if the television set were a sheet of clear glass which offered the viewer an uninterrupted vision of what lay beyond. Television is or *seems* to be, like direct sight. Second, realism employs a narrative which has rationally ordered connections between events and characters. Realist cultural forms, certainly those involving fictional presentations at any rate, consist of a caused, logical flow of events, often structured into a beginning, a middle and a closed conclusion .... The third aspect of realism is the concealment of the production process. Most television is realist in the sense that the audience is not made aware, during the programmes themselves, that there is a process of production lying behind the programmes. The illusion of transparency is preserved. (Ibid, 27)

Abercrombie, like MacCabe (1974) derives realism from a literary perspective: it is one form with certain features that attempts to convince the viewer into believing what is represented could be actual. And similarly it suffers I would suggest from a too narrow consideration of realism: texts that do not fall within the definition are not related to realism and variations within texts of the same genre are not related to the construction of meaning or representation of social relations. However, Abercrombie does take a constructionist view of realism in that:

> .... there is no way in which any description of reality can be the only, pure and correct one, just as people will give very different descriptions of what they see out of their kitchen window. (Ibid, 28)

Fiske (1987b) refutes the "transparency fallacy" that television can represent reality directly or be a "window on the world". He is interested in the construction of realism, and in relation to how realism is produced through particular forms:

> Form is just as much a bearer of meaning and culture as is content, and many would argue that, as a bearer of ideology, form is considerably more effective than content. (Ibid, 23)

Though where Fiske refers to form he is largely talking about the narrative structure and MacCabe's "hierarchy of discourses".

> The way we make sense of a realistic text is through the same broad ideological frame as the way we make sense of our social experience in the industrialised west, and both involve the way we make sense of ourselves, or rather, the way we are made sense of by the discourses of our culture. (Ibid, 24)

This point is more closely relevant to the way in which I have defined realism in the following chapter than to the other definitions and constructions of realism that have been discussed here. Although I would wish to expand on Fiske's limitation of the application of social experience to "realistic" texts by suggesting that all texts are "made sense of" using understandings of social reality and experience.

In Fiske's conception of realism there are a number of aspects that are taken up and developed in this thesis. Firstly, that the form of texts is just as meaningful and worthy of analysis as the "content". Secondly that realism and the understanding of texts is related to the social experiences of the audience and producers of texts. Thirdly, that realism does not represent an objective, empirical reality but rather contributes to the manner in which discourses are structured and reality constructed.

Nichols (1991) describes three levels of realism that are represented in a text: empirical, psychological and historical realism. Empirical realism is described as the level at which events and objects in images refer directly to events and objects in the real world as icons: "the indexical quality of the photographic image and recorded sound"(Ibid, 171). It takes into account the historical specificity of costume, architecture, situations and events whose purpose is "anchoring the story to a ground of empirical realism at the level of fact and detail". (Idem) The second form is Psychological realism, which deals with the representation of the behaviour and understanding of the represented participants. It tends to involve "a recognition that characters and situations are lifelike in a universalising way"

(Idem). Nichols suggests that this form of realism draws on specific emotions of everyday life but then represents that as commonly shared and the text expects the audience to relate to them as such. Finally for Nichols there is Historical realism, which "refers to those aspects of realism that are distinctive to documentary" (Ibid, 177). This style is one that incorporates the empirical and historical so that the proximity between the represented world and the world of the viewer is at its greatest:

> .... documentary realism supports an illusionist mode of reception where style vivifies the physical texture and social complexity of the historical world itself....What we see or hear ostensibly reaches beyond the frame into the world we, too, occupy. (Ibid, 178)

Nichols use of realism has some engagement with the form of texts, and is useful for its description of the documentary in particular. However, Nichols reliance on an empirical basis for objects in images, to refer to as icons, renders it somewhat at odds with the presentation of realism as socially constructed in this thesis.

Hodge and Tripp (1986) provided an influential semiotic approach to the child audience of television. For them the interaction between child and text is crucial, and includes developmental, discursive and ideological factors. They discuss the potential of television to construct reality and outline a system of modality for children's understanding of different programmes. They posit the child audience as active in the making of meaning from texts, a social process that develops the child's abilities to comprehend the world in general. For Hodge and Tripp (op.

cit.) the ideological effects of television are not precisely determining but rather are a part of wider ideological forms:

> Ideological forms in television can only confirm and replicate what is widely promulgated by other means. Television is often unjustly blamed for the breakdown of other ideological apparatuses by the Right, or attributed with the combined effectivity of all the rest by the Left. But television has too diffused and contradictory a content to have a single effect one way or another on its own: it has a social role to play, but only in conjunction with other social forces and structures, and can never be singly and aberrantly determining. (Ibid, 217)

Hodge and Tripp's work is innovatory in that it represents a serious attempt to use semiotics in relation to television and audience's active interpretations. In doing so it successfully challenges social scientific and pessimistic accounts of television's effect on children and contributes to wider and more tolerant consideration of media effects in general. It does not, however, deal with the specific multimodal resources of television or relate their use to realism in the environment of social structures, which is the aim of this thesis.

Berger (1989) also uses semiotics in his analysis of the US sitcom *Cheers*. However, it is a semiotics rooted firmly in the structuralist tradition. His analysis is based on binary oppositions in the features of the text's characters such as (in the comparison of Diane and Carla) "Tall/Short, Blond/Dark hair, WASP/Ethnic", based on the approach of Levi-Strauss (1968). There is also a consideration of the syntagmatic structure of the episode using Propp (1968), where narrative features in the text are related to those of the "fairy-tale". Berger states that signs are arbitrary in their relation to meaning:

> The problem of meaning arises from the fact that the relationship between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary and conventional, so signs can mean anything. (Ibid, 89)

Such a position does not connect the text to its wider social context or to the expectations and assumptions producers have about the audience of the text. The closed and internal format of analysis favoured by structuralism and demonstrated here fails to grasp the social and cultural dimension of meaning that is crucial to an appreciation of texts in everyday life.

Lotman (1976) considers film, reality and art from a semiotic perspective. The semiotic choices available to the producers (all those involved in its creation) of a film are crucial to how meaning is made and move the experience of a film away from a "mechanical reproduction" of life that says nothing to an artistic work full of meaning. Film offers no window on the world and is not naturalistic:

> .... the very concept of "likeness" which seems so immediate and axiomatic to the audience is, in actuality, a fact of culture derived from previous artistic experience and from certain types of artistic codes employed at a particular time in history.....the sense of resemblance to life without which there can be no art of the cinema, is not something elementary, provided by sense perception. Being a component part of a complex, artistic whole, it is facilitated by numerous ties with the artistic and cultural experience of society (Ibid, 64-70)

Lotman uses the example of the use of black and white images in an otherwise colour film. The black and white sequences, by convention, refer to a "reality beyond the screen", while colour sequences are a part of plot narration. The fact that black and white film was accepted, at the time Lotman was writing, as in some sense less mediated than colour images was related to the historical use of black and white in newsreels and documentary. Lotman's focus on the use of

convention and codes in the production of film and of the "illusion of reality", as he puts it, establishes his theorisation as particularly useful to this thesis. It dismisses the "window on the world" view that naturalises images, in favour of the social and semiotic construction of meaning in images. Lotman's account also demonstrates the potential of the analysis of colour as a component of realism. In this case the colour of the image was crucial to the construction of meaning and the relationship of the text to the audience.

From the perspective of the documentary, Winston (1995) considers the changing epistemological basis of the representation of reality and truth. For him, recent postmodern scepticism had rendered the principles of the Grierson tradition and those of cinéma vérité as redundant: there is no direct access to reality. Winston proposes that documentaries and their makers should now acknowledge that they do not have a privileged position in relation to reality and instead represent themselves as an advocate of a particular position

Corner believes that Winston (op. cit.) is taking a step too far and that audiences are capable of judging for themselves the "real-ness" of a text, between what is depicted as fact and what is depicted as fiction:

> Isn't it possible for audiences to believe in factors of degree and interplay here rather than to be caught between two absolutes? And isn't it possible (even allowing for more discursive complexity in the production of the referential than might ever be generally realised by audiences) for them to be right? (Corner, 1996, 26)

Focusing on television drama, Nelson (1997) considers a number of texts in relation to realism and postmodern theories (such as *Our Friends in the North, Heartbeat, Twin Peaks* and *The X-Files).* He accurately points to shifts in television form from a literary/theatrical basis to more visual/cinematic forms, though without connecting such changes to wider social issues. For Nelson, Realism is:

> ....a system of conventions of a language for describing the world, moreover realism is nether monolithic nor static. The conventions within realism change and indeed other conventions for talking about the world emerge. (Ibid, 110)

While this is a useful definition, Nelson restricts the role of realism to that of "sense-making"(Ibid, 124) rather than having an active part in the construction of social reality.

Stam (2000) usefully considers the history of realism in art, literature and cinema. He moves from Auerbach (1953) to poststructural theories and concludes that:

> A socio-discursive approach to the issue of realism shifts the emphasis from "is the representation mimetically correct?" to the question "which social voices and discourses are represented here?" The challenge now, perhaps, is to avoid a naively "realistic" view of artistic representation, without acceding to a "hermeneutic nihilism" whereby all texts are seen as nothing more than an infinite play of signification without reference to the social world (Stam, 2000, 228)

The connection of realism to the social world and to the interests and social groups that a particular formulation of realism represents is crucially important. Stam here offers a conception of realism that is truly useful in the analysis of a wide variety of texts.

2.6 RECENT EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

Some recent television research has demonstrated and promoted the use of empirical methods in examining television programmes and audiences. Livingstone (1990, 1991) attempts to bring together social science "administrative" research and the work of cultural studies on television audiences. Livingstone's proposal is valuable in that it points to specific resources with which audiences comprehend and interpret television programmes. For Livingstone (1990), the understanding of a television text combines the uses of audiences' textual resources: "both viewers' understanding of specifically televisual conventions and other knowledge resources required by the text" (Ibid, 178); and extra-textual resources: "their beliefs, understandings, emotional concerns, social knowledge, etc.: a reference to the rest of their lives in short" (idem.).

Livingstone's proposal is valuable in that it maintains that the text and the resources that are used to create it has a central role in understanding meaning making in television. By combining a textual approach with a concern for audience interpretations, Livingstone has moved media research closer to a more complete appreciation of the process of understanding television.

Gauntlett (1995) re-evaluates research on the effects of television, concluding that the best way of considering television's influence would be the longitudinal use of qualitative methods rather than the previous short term and individualised

experiments. While Gauntlett's dismissal of direct effects on the television audience is far from new, the fact that this is an attempt at reviving the question of television's impact on the audience is important.

Gauntlett and Hill (1999) undertook a large-scale survey of television viewing involving 500 people over 5 years. Participants were asked to complete questionnaire-diaries that covered a very wide range of questions about respondent's everyday lives and their relationship to television. This included routines of viewing, attitudes towards programmes and to violence shown on television, and specific details on what might constitute "gendered" viewing. The study concludes that television plays a key role in the everyday lives of people and that they use television in positive ways, and were not simply "glued to the set" (Ibid, 292)

Scannell (1996) considers television as a phenomenological experience, using the work of Heidegger he critiques Althusser's notion of the subject, asserting that the media address an actual "someone", which appears to be directed towards "me" but is actually for "anyone" (Scannell, 1996, 14). Scannell uses transcripts of popular radio and television programmes, dating back to the beginning of broadcasting in Britain, to analyse the place of the media in everyday life through its distinctive technical features:

> Broadcasting is a very much taken-for-granted part of the orderly, unremarkable ordinariness of everyday life: no more than the usual programmes at their usual time of day. For broadcasting to appear in this way – as part of the seen but unnoticed background of day-to-day life – it must follow that it does the job of being ordinary very well. (Ibid. 95)

The "dailiness" of broadcasting is central to Scannell's consideration of the media and yet it is only one feature of the many different kinds of programmes that are transmitted. He also does not tackle the question of how texts make meaning or are made meaningful in any coherent way beyond referring to the "care structure" with which they are made (Ibid, 149).

Where Scannell's historical perspective is particularly useful in reference to this thesis is in his observation that the "communicative ethos on radio and television has shifted from distant and authoritative relationships between broadcasters and audiences to more equal, open and accessible relationships." (Scannel 1996, 20; 1989). Unfortunately however, this insight is not taken any further.

A production centred approach is taken by Kilborn (1998) in his examination of factual programmes based on video and camcorder material. He interviews producers and considers the economic context of broadcasters and filmmakers. He focuses mainly on the BBC's *Video Diaries* as an example of a documentary form that allows genuine public access to television. However, he does not take any kind of critical or sociological approach as to why there is a greater use of viewers own material in programmes but chooses to elaborate only on the financial benefits and commercial pressures brought to bear on broadcasters.

Frith (2000) calls for more analysis of the production process of television as the economics of the industry have become steadily more important to programme makers. He describes this as an era when public service ideals are under

increasing pressure from market forces and notions of "quality" are becoming harder to define. He is also concerned to combine production studies with:

> .... a second and third strand of Television Studies: on the one hand textual analysis and the other Cultural Studies-based audience ethnography. These three strands need to be woven together in ways they have not been, if only for disciplinary reasons. (Ibid, 49)

Corner (1997, 2001) believes that audience research has gone far enough, and that research into television needs to be brought back to a more solid base where questions of social power can be dealt with:

> In my view, a reengagement with 'production' – institutional structures, institutional settings and specific production relations – must be part of any development here. Studies of institutions and of production which themselves engaged more closely with representation and/or consumption could make a significant contribution. (Corner, 1997, 258)

For Philo and Miller (2000) there is a need for a much more overtly political examination of media, and a return to a critical consideration of the media that they feel has been absent in the field for some time:

> There is a need to examine the relationship between beliefs about the world and the political conclusions drawn by the public, the relationship between political conclusions and taking political action, and between public action, protest and political change or continuity. (Ibid, 838)

They are concerned with the political and economic context of the media and condemn postmodernist positions and offer a scathing attack on the ethnographic turn in media research:

> Others have examined the 'social relations of media consumption', which could come down to asking people if they listened to the radio while doing the ironing or whether they felt sad when they watched *Eastenders*. Empirical work in this area has often been extraordinarily slight in its concerns or poor in its methods – such as guessing what people believe based on reading fan letters. There has been an absence of will to address the real and often brutal power relationships which have transformed our cultural life. (Ibid, 835)

The increasing interest in research that uses empirical methods in conjunction with the qualitative methods developed in the 1980s indicates that the balance in media research between the micro level of audience ethnography and research at the macro level of social formations seems to be turning towards the macro.

Morley (1994), however, warns against a swing too far towards the macro level in media and audience research. For him, ethnographic media research should always be positioned within a social context and therefore there is no need for a conflict between different levels of analysis:

> The current backlash against microethnography is in danger of encouraging a return to macro political issues which is, in fact, premised on a malposed conception of the relation between the micro and the macro. (Ibid, 258)

He directly connects these levels of social action so as to make both of them necessary in properly structured research: "macro structures can be reproduced

only through microprocesses"(Idem). Morley's response to attacks on audience research is appropriate and accurate, in his belief in the grounding of reception in the wider systems of culture and politics.

2.7 CAMERA MOVEMENT IN FILM AND TELEVISION

This section will, firstly, consider literature on the historical development of camera movement as a resource in film-making and television, as this is a semiotic resource and technology that is covered in some detail in the thesis.

Camera Movement in Film

Camera movement and position has been a resource in the moving image almost since the beginning of motion pictures. Gartenberg (1980) after studying a number of films made in the period 1900 to 1906 by the Edison and Biograph companies compared the significance of camera movement to the editing of the films. As he explains:

> Camera movement was evident in films as early as 1900, was employed with increasing frequency and innovation during the ensuing years, and by 1906 had established itself as a basic filmmaking device of the American cinema. (Ibid, 1)

Camera movement increased when filming moved outside of the studio, and the "pan" or "panorama" shot became more common. It was initially used to re-centre a character that had moved out of shot, though it quickly became a means to extend the field of vision from the initial scene. Gartenberg sees the early pan

as the result of chance rather than planning, though a film in 1902, *A Pipe Story of the Fourth* displays "evidence of preplanning the pan" (Ibid, 3) which he believes marked a significant advance. A further innovation was made in the 1903 film *Hooligan in jail* which marked the development of the tracking "dolly" shot where the camera moved in on a character to get a close up view, tightly framing their face. In other films of the time editing had been used to move the camera in for a close up. However, during the period of 1900-1906, Gartenberg states that camera tracking "was not further developed .... it remained a dynamic, innovative technique, rather than developing as an alternative to editing." (Ibid, 4)

As Gartenberg explains, during 1903-1905 the pan became an established convention, particularly to show characters moving from one location to another (he uses the example of characters as they went from some means of transport, such as a car, into the entrance of a building.) This shows how camera movement was beginning to be used to define the spatial configuration of circumstances in which the characters act and how the camera could move dependently on the movement of represented participants. Vertical movement of the camera in the early period of film was seldom used, tilts occurred when re-centring characters and not as a specific resource as the pan had become (Ibid, 12). This was perhaps due to the limitations of early sets, and that film directors concentrated on the "human scale" of represented participants and their actions, buildings and larger objects had yet to be considered as circumstances to be represented in full.

Gartenberg points to a development of camera movement in *Boarding School Girls* (1905), "The increased flexibility of the camera is also established for the

first time in this period, combining the characters moving in depth autonomously away from the camera moving in depth" (Ibid, 8). The autonomy or independence of the camera in relation to represented participants is a meaningful resource in the production of visual texts. As such it will be used as a category in the description of camera movement used in this project. In this context, it is vital to see that such camera movement was developed as a resource or a technology for meaning making in these early films and was not a "natural" or obvious activity for the film-maker.

Gartenberg concludes that he wishes:

> .... to alter the common misconception that the only great development during 1900-1906 period was editing, and that the few camera pans that occurred were novelties and random gestures without significance within the structure of the film. (Idem)

The ethnographic filmmaker Jean Rouch (1979) describes the evolution of the use of the hand held travelling camera in post war documentaries:

> When American television networks were looking for films after World War II, films shot without a tripod were almost unacceptable because of the consequent lack of stability....It took the audacity of the young team from the National Film Board of Canada to free the camera from this impossibility. In 1954, Corral by Koenig and Kroitor pointed out a path later opened up more definitively in 1959 by what has become today's classic model of the travelling shot, i.e. when the camera follows the revolver of the bank guard in Bientot Noel. (Ibid, 56)

Rouch directs attention to the moment when the hand held style became acceptable, when its meanings became legitimate and appropriate for the social and cultural circumstances. This is evidence of the way in which the use of

representational technologies manifest social relations, and that the means of expression are subject to institutional and social (discursive) control. For the hand held style of camera work to become acceptable took some time. I would argue that the instability of the hand held camera was restrained by the dynamics of social change. It is only relatively recently that the hand held camera has made an impact on how television texts use camera movement, indicating the complexity of relations between realism, discourse and representational resource.

Television camera movement

While there is little material available on camera movement in television, and even less on the history of television camera movement, Norman (1984) does provide some details. By the coming of broadcast television in 1936, television cameras were mobile and employed a primitive dolly to track in the studio. Other cameras were mounted on tripods, or small castors. For the outside:

> Whereas Baird's camera was firmly bolted to the studio floor, EMI's cameras, given sufficient cable could be carried outside the building to take pictures in daylight. (Ibid, 22)

There was then, from the beginning of television, potential for the camera to be moved both inside and outside of the studio. As with the use of the hand held camera in filmmaking, the meaning and use of a moving camera in television texts is partly determined by the relations of society as a whole.

Barker (1994) points out the lack of research into the "encoding" of meaning through the specific forms of production in television. His analysis of camera

movement in two US comedy programmes (*All in the Family* and *M*A*S*H*) compares the use of the camera in terms of position and camera distance from represented participants.

All in the Family uses a style of camera position and distance that gives the text a theatrical composition: the cameras are located as a "fourth wall" between the stage and audience. By contrast, *M*A*S*H* has a filmic form where the camera is able to take up a range of positions in relation to represented participants. Barker makes only the most tentative conclusions from his descriptions of camera use: that the theatrical form denies identifying with characters while the filmic form interferes with the traditions of comedic timing but allows for a more fully realised environment.

Despite drawing on Hall (1973), Barker does not relate the forms of camera use to socially situated meanings or consider the interest and motivation in the producers to use such forms. However, it is notable in that he does at least consider the means of television production as a part of the meaning making of the text as a whole.

Movement as effect

From the perceptual approach to film, where the viewer makes sense of the images through a cognitive process of interpretation, camera movement has particular effects on how the images is understood and the kind of information it conveys.

Of the very limited research undertaken on television camera movement, Kipper's (1986) paper is an interesting variation on the perceptual approach of Bordwell and Branigan. Kipper's premise is that:

> The moving camera evidently has an influence on the viewer's comprehension and understanding that is quite different from the symbolic or conventional meanings that are sometimes the outcome of visual techniques. One important impact seems to be on the viewer's sense of the environment, as though he or she were gaining some direct or tangible experience of the world being depicted. (Ibid, 295)

Kipper's psychological approach focused on how a group of students were able to identify the physical form of objects and their spatial arrangement in a room; with one group seeing a static shot and the other a moving one. Not surprisingly the results concluded that those watching a moving view of the room performed best. While the test itself may only prove what it was set up to do, Kipper does point to some consequences of the moving camera:

> To establish this sense of vicarious presence, the camera must move into a scene as if it were an unseen guest inspecting objects and people. The viewer comes along for the ride, so to speak, entering the physical world on the screen, but also, perhaps penetrating the emotional or dramatic reality as well. (Ibid, 305)

Bordwell (1977) describes how camera movement relates to visual perception of the everyday world:

> If only one spatial layout corresponds to the trajectory of the movement, it is also true that only one trajectory is specified by the different angular velocities of the objects. Thus we can hardly resist reading the camera-movement effect as a persuasive

> surrogate for our subjective movement through an objective world. (Ibid, 23)

Bordwell is here pointing to the empirical properties of the image produced by camera movement, which are significant; but the images are not read or understood as pure perception but as motivated signs. The fact that the camera records the world in a way that is commensurate with human perception is itself a consequence of the social production of the technology of film and television, and not a coincidence.

2.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the historical development of television studies in British and other academic research and conceptions of realism that have accompanied them. The thesis follows in the tradition of television and media studies that deal with texts as primarily a social and cultural phenomenon, such as the work of Halloran (1970a), Hall (1973, 1977, 1982,), Hall et al. (1976), and the semiotic approach to television in Eco (1973), Fiske and Hartley (1978) and Hodge and Tripp (1986). In the same way the formulations of realism in media research that are most relevant to this thesis are those that prioritise a socially constructed notion of what is taken as realism and its relation to reality, as in Heath (1974a), Lotman, (1979), Hall (1984), Nelson (1997) and Stam (2000).

The inclusion of literature concerning the history of television technology (Norman, 1984, Barker 1995) demonstrates that the potential for television camera movement has existed for a considerable period, though it has generally

only been used extensively across genres quite recently. This reinforces the conception of representational technology as never purely a technical issue, but always embedded in social environments where resources are used when considered appropriate or legitimate to the social context.

CHAPTER 3

THEORY PART ONE:

SIGNS, TEXTS AND REALISM

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter and the next are organised around the main theoretical concerns of the thesis, on which the methodology of the project draws and by which the analysis of television programmes is conducted. In this chapter there is a discussion of the major concepts used in the thesis: The sign and motivation, the text and realism and reality. The following chapter Theory Part 2 deals with broader aspects of how signs are arranged: modality, genre and the specific signs available through the use of the production of the television image.

3.2 SIGNS AND MOTIVATION

In this section I will outline the central conceptions of a social theory of semiotics that is required to analyse television with regard to social reality. It is in three sections: firstly, foundations for social and cultural understandings of signs; secondly how signs are motivated by the intentions of their producers and by their environment, and thirdly how signs are produced.

The basic unit of semiotic analysis is the sign. In Saussurian semiology this is composed of a signifier and a signified, it is a meaningful construction that has a particular form which can be read as having certain content. While there has been extensive debate over the concept of signs, (for example Saussure 1975; Hookway; 1985; Barthes 1967, 1973; Culler, 1981; Eco, 1976; Thibault, 1997;

Holdcroft 1991; Nöth 1990) I wish to outline the specific social semiotic theory of signs that I am using to analyse television programmes.

Volosinov/Bakhtin

To begin the theory of signs that I require for an analysis of realism, I will use the work of V. N. Volosinov[1], writing in 1929 in *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* (1973), as a basis. Volosinov sets out a thoroughly social conception of signs and meaning making. This entails a direct connection between social relations, environments and the use and production of signs:

> .... the forms of signs are conditioned above all by the social organisation of the participants involved and also by the immediate concerns of their interaction. (Ibid, 21)

This statement precisely describes the social semiotic notion of the sign, that signs are always produced in social situations, which involve certain relationships between participants. These relationships have effects upon the signs used, and the relations of the specific situation also play a part in the motivation of signs: the use of signs appropriate to the setting. These situations are social occasions that have become conventionalised over time. They become known by producers and viewers or readers as specific genres (Kress 1990).

[1] To note briefly the debate over the identity of V.N. Volosinov in relation to M. M. Bakhtin: According to Holquist (in Bakhtin, 1981, xxvi) "ninety percent" of Volosinov (1973) is by M. M. Bakhtin.

For Volosinov the semiotic domain is tied inextricably to that of material and social relations:

> In order for any item, from whatever domain of reality it may come, to enter the social purview of the group and elicit ideological semiotic reaction, it must be associated with the vital socio-economic prerequisites of the particular group's existence; it must somehow, even if obliquely, make contact with the bases of the group's material life. (Ibid, 22)

Volosinov's theory of language takes as its basis a material world where economic relations at least partly determine the motivations of signs. Such a material base for signs and their production does relate to material conceptions of reality and to critical theories of ideology. While here it is enough to note Volosinov's premise for semiotics, materiality and reality will be dealt with in greater depth later in this chapter.

Volosinov's approach was in direct contrast to that of Saussure's (1974). Volosinov objected to the principle of arbitrariness and the closed nature of the language system saying:

> What interests the mathematically minded rationalists is not the relationship of the sign to the actual reality it reflects or to the individual who is the originator, but the relationship of sign to sign within a closed system already accepted and authorised. In other words they are interested only in the inner logic of the system of signs itself, taken, as in algebra, completely independently of the meaning that gives the signs their content. (Volosinov, 1973, 57)

Central to Volosinov's theory of signs are the relations between participants. This too will be applied to a social semiotic analysis of television. Although

Volosinov uses the term "word" I think it is possible to apply the same understanding to signs in any representational system:

> Orientation of the word toward the addressee has an extremely high significance. In point of fact, *word is a two-sided act.* It is determined equally by whose word it is and *for whom* it is meant. As a word, it is precisely the *product of the reciprocal relationship between speaker and listener, addresser and addressee.* Each and every word expresses the "one" in relation to the "other". (Italics in original. Ibid, 86)

This conception does, I think, apply to the use of signs in all modes or codes, as they are realised both in respect of the social situation and with consideration as to the "audience" or reader(s) of the sign.

Volosinov predated recent interest in the polysemy of signs by declaring that words (and by extension all signifiers) are multi-accented, and have different meanings to individuals and according to the environment of their use. Unlike those who see multiple meanings as somehow liberating the sign from social relations (e.g. Fiske 1989c), for Volosinov it reflects the fact that different social groups are always engaged in a struggle over meaning.

By accepting the multiplicity of potential meanings in any sign and at the same time connecting this to society, the theory is of further use in the study of signs in actual use. It is possible to see how signs are changing as cultures and social groups change, and to connect this to theories of the social construction of reality.

Bhaktin describes the world of signs as a living and complex one. Producers of texts are constantly mixing signs with one another, and they are drawn from a

kind of social repository only to be accentuated by an individual in a particular circumstance. It is a fluid conception of semiosis that is at the same time always affected by ideology:

> The living utterance, having taken meaning and shape at a particular historical moment in a socially specific environment, cannot fail to brush up against thousands of living dialogic threads, woven by socio-ideological consciousness around the given object of an utterance; it cannot fail to become an active participant in social dialogue. After all, the utterance arises out of this dialogue as a continuation of it and as a rejoinder to it - it does not approach the object from the sidelines. (Bakhtin, 1981, 276)

Volosinov/Bakhtin's theories are crucial to social semiotics, where they have been applied to signs in the modern world. It allows for a practically based theory of signs to be used in the analysis of actual texts in actual social environments. It is not concerned with abstract structure or properties of language but how signs operate in concrete circumstances. This is, I believe, a theoretical requirement for an original and critical examination of television programmes and their realism.

Critical Linguistics and Social Semiotics

The central theory of this project is derived from the social semiotics of Hodge and Kress (1988) and Kress and van Leeuwen (1996). This work is itself a development from, initially, the functional linguistics of M. A. K. Halliday (1978, 1994, and Kress, 1976) where language is taken to be a system of meaning created by social functions rather than as a naturally existing entity. From this basis, Critical Linguistics was developed (Fowler et al, 1979) which sought to identify how social relations were represented at the fundamental level of syntax

in language, the structure of language itself, and not just in lexis or the "content" of the words themselves. Hodge and Kress (1979) extended the depth of this linguistic analysis. A further breakthrough was made with the extension of social semiotics from language to other modes of communication and the elaboration of the theory to take account of them: Hodge and Kress, 1988 and Kress and van Leeuwen (op. cit.).

In relation to my hypothesis that specific signs used in television texts are central to how texts relate to reality, social semiotics from Halliday onwards takes the reality of everyday experience to be socially produced and maintained by the structures and forms of modes of communications as well as their ostensible "content". Fowler and Kress (1979) inaugurate Critical Linguistics with these words (among others):

> Our studies demonstrate that social groupings and relationships influence the linguistic behaviour of speakers and writers, moreover, that these socially determined patterns of language influence non-linguistic behaviour including, crucially, cognitive activity. Syntax can code a world-view without any conscious choice on the part of a writer or speaker. We argue that the world-view comes to language-users from their relation to the institutions and the socio-economic structure of their society. (Ibid, 185)

This passage demonstrates the central and key issue of social semiotics: the cyclical relationship between social structure, communication and "world-view". The role of analysis and the position of texts within this theory are described thus:

> The structure of discourse and of texts reflects and expresses the purposes and roles of its participants, these in turn being products of the prevailing forms of economic and social organisation. But communication is not just a *reflex* of social processes and structures. In the expression of these processes and structures they

> are affirmed, and so contribute instrumentally to the consolidation of existing social structures and material conditions. Interpretation is the process of recovering social meanings expressed in discourse by analysing the linguistic structures in the light of their interactional and wider social contexts. (Ibid, 198)

This process of interpretation is the methodology of social semiotics, it applies the theories of social communication to a critical description of texts from which are drawn certain connections between the forms of texts and the social situations and relations from which they are produced.

Peirce

The sign, for C. S. Peirce, is part of a triad: "a sign, its object, and the interpreting thought, itself a sign." (quoted in Eco,1976, 33). The important distinction here with Saussure's conception of the sign is that Peirce is interested in the sign's effect on the world: its external relationship in the "interpreting thought" of the individual.

Also of importance from the work of Peirce is his notion of "unlimited semiosis", in which the interpretant of each triadic sign (which consists of an object, its sign and the interpreting thought) itself becomes a sign to be understood and so on:

> The meaning of a representation can be nothing but a representation .... the interpretant is nothing but another representation to which the torch of truth is handed along; and as representation, it has its interpretant again. (quoted in Eco, 1976, 69)

As with Barthes' conception of myth discussed below, Peirce sees meaning making as a continual and dynamic process, where one sign becomes the material

for another. With Eco's correct comment on meaning as always social and cultural, Peirce becomes relevant to a semiotic theory of realism. Eco's interpretation of unlimited semiosis is this:

> .... signification (as well as communication), by means of continual shiftings which refer a sign back to another sign or string of signs, circumscribes cultural units in a asymptotic fashion, without ever allowing one to touch them directly, though making them accessible through other units. Thus a cultural unit never obliges one to replace it by means of something which is not a semiotic entity, and never asks to be explained by some Platonic, pyschic or objectal entity. Semiosis explains itself by itself. (Ibid, 71)

Motivation

The motivation of signs is one of the most controversial issues in semiotic theory. Its opposite, that is arbitrariness, is at the heart of Saussure's conception of language and structuralist thought. It has become a largely accepted and unquestioned tenet of Linguistics.

Paul Thibault (1997) attempts to bridge the gap between Saussure's definition of arbitrary signs and social semiotics by suggesting that signs are only arbitrary in the system of meanings (langue) rather than in the circumstances of their actual use (parole). This outlook however, by separating and distancing signs-in-use from the system they come from, denies the possibility that it is the use of signs in social circumstances that creates, maintains and at the same time changes the systems of signs from which actors draw and that therefore the forms and systems are inherently social, cultural and ultimately ideological.

The two theorists of motivated signs that I draw most from are Roland Barthes and Gunther Kress. Barthes' notion of myth offers a theory of motivation that is tied directly to ideology. As a semiotician, his analysis covered language, images and a range of objects and concepts in popular culture. This makes Barthes unique for his time and supremely influential in the semiotics of everyday life. His approach is particularly suited to the critical examination of a range of representational resources and cultural environments.

Barthes (1973) notion of signs as myths involves the actual use of signs, the transformation of objects in the world into ideological material that is never natural or entirely transparent.

> A tree is a tree. Yes, of course. But a tree as expressed by Minou Drouet is no longer quite a tree, it is a tree which is decorated, adapted to a certain type of consumption, laden with literary self-indulgence, revolt, images, in short a type of social *usage* which is added to pure matter. (Italics in original. Ibid, 118)

This expresses a social concept of semiosis as strongly as Volosinov, and a materialist view too if one takes the idea of "pure matter" being made meaningful in social environments.

While Barthes, writing in *Mythologies*, considers language to be an arbitrary system, a position he must hold on to, writing as a structuralist in the late 1950s, he distinguishes from this the system of myth, which is motivated. The notion of myth allows Barthes to hold onto both arbitrary and motivated notions of meaning making at the same time. Myth is described as a semiotic process of meaning making that is political and material, that represents the class interests of

the bourgeoisie by naturalising them and by turning them into common sense. However, in order to do this, signification is motivated by the intention of the producer:

> Motivation is necessary to the very duplicity of myth: myth plays on the analogy between meaning and form, there is no myth without motivated form....Motivation is unavoidable. It is none the less very fragmentary. To start with, it is not 'natural': it is history which supplies its analogies to the form. The analogy between meaning and form is never anything but partial: the form drops many analogous features and keeps only a few. (Ibid, 136-7)

This concept of myth and of how mythologising takes place relates both to critical theories of ideology and to the social construction of reality:

> Everything, in everyday life, is dependent on the representation which the bourgeoisie *has and makes us have* of the relations between man and the world. These "normalised" forms attract little attention, by the very fact of their extension, in which their origin is easily lost. (Italics in original. Ibid, 152)

Barthes' overtly political understanding of meaning making as myth can be extended to all kinds of communication if a social dimension is the central requirement. Barthes' sense of motivation is not a quality of the linguistic system as a whole but of the actual use of material in the world for ideological purposes. It is the process by which the social and political dimension of objects (including linguistic objects) is neutralised and rendered invisible:

> Myth does not deny things, on the contrary its function is to talk about them; simply, it purifies them, it makes them innocent, it gives them a natural and eternal justification, it gives them a clarity which is not that of an explanation but that of a statement of fact. (Ibid, 156)

I will also be using the understanding of motivation in social semiotics. This has been most explicitly developed by Gunther Kress. While this approach is as concerned with social structures and ideology as Barthes', it is focused more on individual instances of motivation and the use of signs in social situations. Kress (1993b) describes signs in this way:

> Signs are always motivated....by the producers 'interest', and by characteristics of the object. It is 'interest' which determines the characteristics that are to be selected and to be represented. The relation of signifier to signified, in all human semiotic systems, is always motivated, and is never arbitrary. (Ibid, 173)

The main consequence of a theory of motivated signs is that it places semiotics in a *critical* field, the social motivations of signs represent relations of power and the influence of what Hodge and Kress (1988) call "Ideological complexes". By focusing on the issue of motivation, semiotics becomes a theory of practical use in the understanding of social communication and its potential impact.

As discussed in Hodge and Kress (Idem.) the point of this theory is to provide a framework for making the motivation of signs apparent, not just to suggest that signs are socially produced, but to examine their specific motivations and relations within society. Understanding the motivation of signs involves a willingness to accept the impact of the social world on human agents. It takes away notions of complete originality and freedom of expression, as Volosinov suggested, replacing it with a complex network of social relations that impact upon every level of meaning making. But as I have described, Kress also puts the producer of signs in a central role as acting out of their own interest, interests that motivate the sign within the particular social environment.

The difficulty in reading the motivation of signs, particularly those signs such as words that have become established over long periods, is that the motivation seems to become obscured. Whatever social factors and interests that were present at the time when signs were established are lost, and what is left is a signifier that appears only arbitrarily connected to the signified. However the use of any pre-existing sign (a word or a gesture for example) as a new signifier, as illustrated in Barthes' (1973) diagram below, and in a new social situation does involve motivation on the part of the sign's producer and in so doing its use maintains the dynamic life of signs and motivations in society. That is, it produces change.

The difficulty in understanding or reading motivations is clearly defined by Kress (1993b) as:

> ....in all instances the characteristics of the signified are never entirely knowable or predictable, given the producer's interest - as a product both of momentary and of much more persistent factors. (Ibid, 176)

One of the most important insights of social semiotics in both the study of language (Fowler et al, 1979, Hodge and Kress, 1979, 1988, 1993) and in images (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996; van Leeuwen, 2000) is the motivation of the forms of texts. Social semiotics shifts the focus of attention in the ideological analysis of texts away from a split between content and form to a position where the forms of texts are considered to be as significant as the content: form is content. The forms of texts (in language form and content can be expressed as the

distinction between syntax and lexis.) therefore become to be seen as motivated and as meaningful as the "content" of the text. This entails a grammatical approach to communication, where each mode or channel has particular resources for meaning making and their use is related to the social situations in which they occur.

In the reading of a text or sign, the grammatical or systematic forms, how elements are placed or realised within the available resources of the mode, are understood in conjunction with the content, that is the elements themselves. In "classical" semiotics these are the categories of paradigm and syntagm. However it is possible to attend to one or the other in the case of an analysis. While the form of a text is itself in these terms part of the content of the text, in that it is meaningful to the reader or viewer, I wish to keep a distinction between them for the purposes of analysis.

Hall (1984) underlines this point and expresses the need for attention to be paid to the forms of texts, and expresses a central question that is of crucial relevance to this thesis:

> Form is much more important than the old distinction between form and content. We used to think form was like an empty box, and it's really what you put into it that matters. But we are aware now that the form is actually part of the content of what it is that you are saying. So then one has to ask why it is that certain events seem to be handled, predominantly in our culture, in certain forms, because the stitching together of particular contents must have a function larger than just that of amusing or entertaining people. (Ibid, 7)

In a social semiotic analysis, the motivation of the form of signs is just as important as their content. Indeed in the moment of production they are inseparable, the form is chosen precisely because it represents particular meanings to certain social groups.

The concept of the motivation of signs solves many problems when trying to understand how texts (in this case programmes, which are texts that are discrete items within a television schedule and broadcast by a particular channel) come to mean what they do and offers a real chance of suggesting why a text is constructed in the way that it is.

In this project, the concept of motivated signs is central, and is the most important distinction between social semiotics and other kinds of text analysis. Barthes' (1973) theory of myth, along with social semiotics, provides a sound basis for the examination of television forms as motivated signs that participate in the construction of how the world is understood and acted upon. This process is conducted through the meanings that circulate within societies and social groups and the way in which experience is itself shaped by them:

> If experience does have meaning and is not merely a particular piece of reality....then surely experience could hardly come about other than in the material of signs. After all, meaning can belong only to a sign; meaning outside a sign is a fiction. Meaning is the expression of a semiotic relationship between a particular piece of reality and another kind of reality that it stands for, represents, or depicts. Meaning is a function of the sign and is therefore inconceivable outside the sign as some particular, independently existing thing. (Volosinov, 1973, 28)

Hall (1982) is clear about the relationship between meaning and experience:

> ....things and events in the real world do not contain or produce their own, integral, single and intrinsic meaning, which is then merely transferred through language. Meaning is a social production, a practice. The world has to be *made to mean*. (Italics in original. Ibid, 67)

Hodge and Kress (1988) are explicit in their description of how control over sign production can be related to social power, particularly with reference to the organisation of modality within semiotic systems:

> Social control rests on control over the representation of reality which is accepted as the basis of judgement and action. This control can be exercised directly on the mimetic content that circulates in a semiosic process .... whoever controls modality can control which version of reality will be selected out as the valid version in that semiosic process. (Ibid, 147)

Each of these theories point, in different ways, to the relationship between meaning making and how the world is viewed and lived. Each locates signs and their meaning in the social and political domain, where motivation is the central factor.

Production of signs

In relation to human communication, signs are always made from material resources. These resources include the body itself, in speech and gesture for example, and external matter such as paper, paint, wood or stone. Over the course of time, these resources have become semioticised, used in particular ways to become meaningful. Since agents enter into a world already populated with meanings, they must take pre-existing signs and use them for their own purposes

and intentions in communicating with others. In effect, reality, in the form of existing signs, is transformed into new signs, which themselves become part of a reality that has consequently changed because of this action.

Barthes (1973) drew on Hjelmslev's (1953) notions of a connotative semiotics that used the concepts of expression substance and content substance to construct a model of sign production. Barthes adapted this, using signifier for expression and signified for content, and illustrated the process in this way:

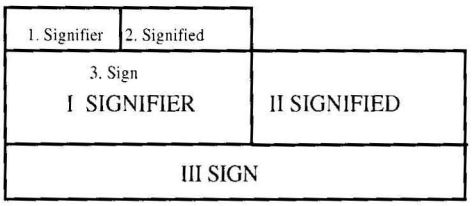

Figure 1. The sign as myth

Eco (1976) explains the operation of Hjelmslev's original model, which is little different from Barthes, in this way:

> There is a connotative semiotics when there is semiotics whose expression plane is another semiotics....the content of the former signification (along with the units that conveyed it) becomes the expression of a further content. (Ibid, 55)

The use of a sign is the creation of a new sign, composed of a previously existing sign: a combination of form and content that already exists. This becomes the signifier of the new sign, which is combined with intended meaning as the signified. It is clear from this diagram that the choice of signifier will be crucial

as an always pre-existing "package" of form and content. It is then remade into a new sign, which can then act as a potential signifier in the future. Once social forces are added to this model in terms of motivation it is clear that signs change as society does and that by closely examining this it is possible to "work backwards" and uncover connections between representations and social power.

Kress (1997) suggests that the factor that motivates signs and determines a large part of the choice of signs is *interest.* This term covers quite a wide area of the motivations of sign producers:

> Signs arise out of our interest at a given moment when we represent those features of the object which we regard as defining of that object at that moment....This interest is always complex and has physiological, psychological, emotional, cultural and social origins. It gets its focus from factors in the environment in which the sign is being made. (Ibid, 11)

Kress further elaborates on the production of signs by describing them as metaphors, and like Barthes draws this out as a process of analogy:

> Signs are the result of metaphoric processes in which analogy is the principle by which they are formed. (Ibid, 12)

Signs function as metaphors using classification and comparison to make the material "real" world meaningful. But signs do not only operate as references to a pre-existing world of objects, they actively participate in the construction of the objects themselves, not necessarily on a physical level but at the social and individual levels of reality construction.

For van Leeuwen (2000) the way in which particular combinations of form and meaning come about is an inherently social act:

> The relation between signifier and signified is not that of the two sides of the coin, indissolubly welded together, it is a relation which is endlessly recombinable and if any welding occurs, this is a social act of codification, of 'fixing'. (Ibid, 187)

Therefore, signs are always a product of the micro and the macro levels of social interaction. The interests in sign production are individual but exist within social relations, and can never operate outside of them. A sign never has a simply neutral value but is produced and read within the ideological complexes of the social groups it inhabits.

Eco (1976) in his theory of sign production recognised the importance of the material basis of signs:

> To communicate means to concern oneself with extra-semiotic circumstances. The fact that they can frequently be translated into semiotic terms does not eliminate their continuous presence in the background of any phenomenon involving sign production. In other words, signification is confronted with (and communication takes place within) the framework of the global network of material, economic, biological and physical conditions then prevalent. (Ibid, 158)

Central to the theory of realism I am proposing is that reality (or realities) is socially produced, it is not a "natural", or arbitrary phenomenon. The signs that make up realism in a text are motivated, the choice of one sign rather than another is derived from a number of influencing factors. Following from the conception of signs that I have discussed above, I want to suggest that these factors are:

1. The interest of the sign's producer or producers, what it is they want the sign to mean.

2. The social environment that the production of the sign takes place in, including the relationships between participants.

3. The kind of social occasion or situation that the sign takes a part in representing.

4. The representational resource that the producer is using.

5. Conceptions of the audience for the text.

Every form is potentially meaningful, and has some kind of "content" or reading. Indeed it is a further central proposition of this theoretical approach to signs and signification that every form and resource for meaning making is saturated with meanings before individual or collective sign makers use them. This is demonstrated in Barthes' diagram above (Figure 1) which shows that every new sign draws on previously meaningful signs as material.

3.3 TEXTS

In this section I wish to discuss firstly some issues around the term "text" and secondly how they relate to the work in this thesis. I cannot deal in depth with

every conception of text, nor with the entire body of work of those whose theories of texts are important to this work. Therefore what follows is a selection of textual theories that are particularly relevant to the formulation of realism and analysis of television programmes that this thesis undertakes.

Constitution of texts

Graddol (1994) describes a shift away from a traditional meaning of "text" referring to purely written words, as in the separation of text from "illustrations", to a much wider interpretation of what constitutes a "text". This may be due he suggests to an increasing focus on meaning in texts, particularly at a semiotic level rather than a physical one.

For Graddol the most important extension of the meaning of text is in regard to visual forms:

> This broader meaning of a text reflects the extent to which, within semiotic theory, non-verbal communication has become conceptualised as being like verbal language. It is hence not merely a metaphor to call a film a text, but more strongly theoretically motivated. (Ibid, 45)

From this perspective it is possible to view all aspects of communication as contributing to the meaning of a text, and as such they are just as much a part of the meaning as the written language itself. For example, Street (1995) is clear that there are a range of meaning making resources available, in an analysis of oral and written modes:

> ....where the methods are rooted in theories of power and ideology and of language as essentially social, then the characteristics of written channels of communication will appear somewhat different. We will find, for instance, a whole range of paralinguistic features by which meaning is expressed through writing as complex and rich as those of oral discourse. (Ibid, 169)

It is crucial in this outline of a theory of the text to assert that no text is ever the production of one form alone. All texts mix different means of communication, different systems of meaning making, different modes that are always combined in the process of creating a text. Each medium that is used for communication is a combination of representational resources that are read in unison, that are meaningful in relation to each other. How they are combined together is a social process governed by generic conventions. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) outline their view on multimodality:

> Language, whether in speech or writing has always existed as just one mode in the totality of modes involved in the production of any text, spoken or written. A spoken text is not just verbal but also visual, combining the 'non-verbal' modes of communication such as facial expression, gesture, posture and other forms of self-presentation. (Ibid, 39)

This has consequences for the analysis and understanding of texts. As I suggested in the introduction, language centred theories of meaning are still taken for granted in some areas and are not sufficient by themselves to understand social communication and reality as they take place in an environment where all the available modes of a medium are used. Therefore, as all texts are complexes of signs from varying modes, the theory of realism developed in this thesis must take account of this.

The "Post-Structuralist" Text

Concepts of the "text' have been challenged and put into new frameworks by the work of post-structuralists, and their theories have certainly influenced social semiotics greatly. This a relatively brief examination of some main theoretical points about texts that have a bearing on this thesis.

Among the most influential post structuralism works are those associated with the journal "Tel Quel" in the late 1960s which included Roland Barthes, Jacques Derrida and Julia Kristeva. They challenged the traditional conception of the text in literature, which sees it as a stable set of meanings on the surface of a literary work, as a written object; a permanent, lasting monument to the author:

> The notion of the text is historically linked to a whole world of institutions, the law, the Church, literature, education. The text is a moral object: it is written in so far as the written participates in the social contract. It subjects us, and demands that we observe and respect it, but in return it marks language with an inestimable attribute which it does not posses in its essence: security. (Barthes, 1981, 32)

Barthes seeks to refute the concept of fixed texts and meanings, to deny this security, beginning from the notion of a text as production rather than product. That texts are not "repositories of objective signification" but instead a "polysemic space where the paths of several possible meanings intersect."(Ibid, 37) The text is no longer an object, but in the case of a written text it is what is produced by the interaction between the reader and the written.

Derrida goes even further than Barthes, almost to the point where the text disappears altogether:

> A 'text' is no longer a finished corpus of writing, some content enclosed in the book or its margins, but a differential network, a fabric of traces referring endlessly to something other than itself, to other differential traces. (quoted in Young, 1981, 29)

The post-structuralist "liberation" of the text has had enormous consequences. Its assertion of texts as polysemic refuses to allow for privileged readings and a kind of ownership of the text's meaning by the author, it allows for multiple interpretations and points the site of analysis much more towards the reader.

However a more problematic aspect of post-structuralism is its deconstruction of the sign itself. In this case, in a critique of Saussure, the sign is broken in two: signifiers and signifieds no longer relate concretely to each other; but, according to Derrida (1976), are linked in endless chains of deferral that are not connected to the material world at all. This is certainly at odds with the sign in social semiotics that, as I have described, is motivated by agents located in social relations and situations that have very real effects on members of social groups.

In this thesis, signs are taken to be anchored in social relations, and in the interests of producers. They are not floating when used in concrete situations to communicate particular meanings. The realisation of signs in social life is always a procedure that fixes them to some extent. Signs have material effects upon the world as ideological entities.

Relations between texts

In this section I will consider various different conceptions of intertextuality as a key means of understanding the relationships between texts. In Film and Television Studies intertextuality tends to refer to explicit references to other films or television programmes. White (1992, 161) gives the example of an actor who plays a doctor on television advertising cold medicine as an example of intertextuality; a clear and direct reference between texts. Turner (1994, 135) mentions certain actions in the film *Silverado,* which are references to other older Westerns, as an illustration of intertextuality.

Texts do refer to each other in specific instances and textuality in this sense is often a part of television programmes, especially perhaps comedy where parody and pastiche are often used. However, intertextuality in this sense does not account for the complex relations between texts that are not simply a matter of explicit reference. Kress (1990), using a social theory of texts and meaning, deals with intertextuality in this way:

> Every text contracts relations of inter-textuality with a vast network of other texts. Within and out of that network of relations the writer constructs a new text which everywhere bears the marks of its inter-textual relationships and which is also set off from all those texts. (Ibid 49)

Barthes (1981) in his "theory of the text" saw the relationship between texts as an important issue and one where change was needed from literary criticism's fixed positioning of texts in relation to meaning:

> Any text is an intertext; other texts are present in it at varying levels, in more or less recognisable forms: the texts of the previous

> and surrounding culture. Any text is a new tissue of past citations. (Ibid, 39)

Most significant from Barthes' observations on the relation of texts is that texts are necessarily social because of intertextuality. The presence of other texts from "the whole of language" as Barthes puts it, means that texts are always drawn from the social environment and always have "the status not of a reproduction but of a productivity."(Ibid)

Here I wish to draw on the literary and linguistic theory of Bakhtin and direct it television texts. In his work on the novel form, Bakhtin, (1981) used the term "Heteroglossia" for the many voices that are present in a text. This essentially means that text combines not just one "voice" or kind of language, but an intertwining of aspects of different groups: to

> Authorial speech, the speeches of narrators, inserted genres, the speech of characters are merely those fundamental compositional unities with whose help heteroglossia can enter the novel; each of them permits a multiplicity of social voices and a wide variety of links and interrelationships (always more or less dialogized). These distinctive links and interrelationships between utterances and languages, this movement of the theme through different languages and speech types, its dispersion into the rivulets and droplets of social heteroglossia, its dialogization - this is the basic distinguishing feature of the stylistics of the novel. (Ibid, 263)

The second term of importance from Bakhtin is "dialogic": that all texts are produced in the form of a dialogue between the producer of the text and the receiver/listener. But rather than this being in the simplistic terms of some models of communication (e.g. Lasswell's model as quoted in McQuail (1981)) where there is a uni-directional flow between participants, this implies a continual process of taking into account the position of the "other" person. The notion of

dialogic texts does therefore turn them from monologic and rigid items, that in some sense "belong" to the producer, into much more fluid, dynamic objects that are created in the interplay between people. Holquist (in Bakhtin, 1981) explains Bakhtin's term in this way:

> Dialogism is the characteristic epistemological mode of a world dominated by heteroglossia. Everything means, is understood as part of a greater whole - there is a constant interaction between meanings, all of which have the potential of conditioning others....This dialogic imperative, mandated by the pre-existence of the language world relative to any of its inhabitants, insures that there can be no actual monologue. (Ibid, 426)

For Bakhtin, communication is always an interaction between participants and never a passive activity: "every concrete act of understanding is active" (Ibid, 282). In Bakhtin's work, the dialogic form of meaning - interaction between texts themselves and with social relations and circumstances is of central importance. Meanings simply do not escape these relationships but are placed within them and the forms that texts take are a consequence. Each sign in the complex of signs that make up a television programme is in this sense part of a dialogue between the producers and the audience. However, there is in many cases, other than "phone-ins" or programmes that specifically include viewers' comments in emails etc., no actual dialogue between the producers and participants of a programme and its audience. Yet every sign, in terms of form and content is used or chosen with some concept of whom will be watching the programme.

This does relate closely to theories of genre since in the sense in which I am using it, the conventionalised forms of social occasions always assume an audience, their producers always believe that there is an "other", otherwise they would not

be texts at all but interior forms of communication. Kress and Threadgold (1988) point out that dialogism is a feature of genre and describe this as the process of how a:

> ....text dialogues with other "voices" of the culture, by referring to them intertextually and also constructing, for the participants in this dialogue, positions of compliance or resistance with respect to those other "voices". (Ibid, 234)

I would wish to suggest that Bakhtin's concepts of heteroglossia and dialogism are central aspects of all texts and meaning making. As this thesis applies social theories of language to television programmes, Bakhtin should be seen as a crucial influence. His concepts emphasise the social dynamic that is always a factor in the production of texts.

Texts are further located within discourse; that is within the meanings and values of institutions and social groups. Kress (1990) following Michel Foucault describes a discourse in this way:

> A discourse provides a set of possible statements about a given area, and organises and gives structure to the manner in which a particular topic, object, process is to be talked about. In that it provides descriptions, rules, permissions and prohibitions of social and individual actions. (Ibid, 7)

Discourses offer a world view, they are encompassing ways of dealing with experience and representations of it, that have become naturalised as myths (Barthes 1973). Discourses are often presented as common sense by those who use them, as taken for granted and in an attempt to establish every representation as such. As I hope to demonstrate, reality and realism are the battlegrounds of

discourses. What is taken to be real/actual will be more highly valued, will set the limits of discussion; what lies outside of the dominant discourse can be rejected as unreal, or as fantasy, detached from the real world.

How concepts of texts relate to the work in this thesis

The preceding theories of texts and their relations are of central importance to this thesis as they are fundamentally connected to theories of meaning making - the text being that unit or entity which is formed in the process. Furthermore there must be a justification of the text as the site of analysis and its relationship to the audience or the institutions and its members where television programmes are made.

A theory of texts is at the heart of any understanding of meaning making as the brief outlines in this chapter shows, as concepts of text form a significant part of social semiotics. The text is a unit of semiotic material, it is the object that is worked on in the process of reading, and transformed by this process into particular meanings by the reader. This is one of the reasons why I have used the work on social semiotics rather than those methods that are commonly applied to television programmes in media studies. Such work (It might be typified by Abercrombie, 1996) has largely not considered the form of programmes as meaningful, as part of the content that is read by audiences, and has not dealt with television as a multi-modal medium of communication, and with audiences' reading of those modes.

In choosing to consider television programmes as "texts" I am acknowledging that they are made up of a number of different forms that interact together when they are produced and read, and that I am focusing on how potential meanings or readings are constructed by the programme. A television programme that is recorded on video and taken from its location in the daily schedule can be analysed and understood as a text. As a complex of interrelating forms or modes, informed by the theories of texts in the previous section, a text is seen a site of meaning making or meanings making since no two readings of a text are ever the same. With the application of Bakhtin's approach to literature, a television text is a combination of 'kinds of speech' or different forms that indicate a diversity of positions that are social and historical.

But in this case it is not just speech that is at issue but all the available semiotic resources available to the medium. While the other modes are not kinds of speech or operate in the same way as speech, they can be considered, I propose, within Bakhtin's framework of discourse and language. By applying a concept of dialogism to programmes, they can be seen as produced in response to the audience, as a form of dialogue, rather than simply being "transmitted" in a one-way flow. Concepts and assumptions of the viewer/reader are present at every stage of production in the intentions of the texts' producers.

Utterances and indeed all texts are understood against a background of other utterances around the same theme. This is the key aspect of intertextuality - no text is ever the first thing to be said upon a subject, but must refer to other locations within a discourse. So it is with television texts, each particular text is

related to and read in response to other texts within the same genre and to different genres altogether. A text is an instance of a generic type - a representation of a social occasion in conventionalised form.

3.4 REALITY AND REALISM

As the literature survey reveals, realism in the study of television has tended to be understood in relation to the terms used in literary studies and from there in Film Theory, as one style of representation (e.g. MacCabe, 1974), though I have also discussed examples where this is not the case (e.g. Stam, 2000). The single and stable notion of realism has generally divorced it from social reality and ignored the diversity of representational forms and genres in television and how they relate to the reality of viewer's everyday lives.

Within the profusion of ontological theories of reality, from the objective, scientific and materialist reality to the opposite extremes of a totally individuated subjective reality or idealism, it is necessary to choose a particular standpoint, one that will enable a connection to realism and the analysis of television texts. In the case of this thesis a definition that takes account of its social and individual construction but not at the expense of the circumstances and environment of actors/participants.

Phenomenology

In order to connect realism to reality, I will primarily use the theories of reality outlined by the phenomenologist Alfred Schutz (1945, 1972).

Schutz' influence lies primarily in his conception of the reality of everyday life. This is derived from the phenomenology of Husserl as the means of, to a certain extent, bracketing out the Macro level of social structure and concentrating on the individual's construction of their lifeworld in relation to the wider social environment.

For Schutz the ordinary, mundane world of everyday life is the location of most significance in an analysis of the social world. Individuals, he suggests, act on the basis of knowledge of the world, on their own biographical situation, which is unique and at the same time shared with others in social groups.

From this concern for the reality of everyday life Schutz drew on the work of psychologist William James. James (1950) suggested that:

> ....reality means simply relation to our emotional and active life....In this sense whatever excites and stimulates our interest is real. (Ibid, 295)

However, James distinguishes between a number of different orders of reality that he terms sub-universes. These include the worlds of science, religion, abstract or ideal relations such as mathematics, "idols of the tribe" and individual opinions. Each of these he argues have their own special and separate style and objects get referred to one of these "worlds" or another. Of these sub-universes James points to one as most important: "the Paramount Reality of the senses", this is the world

of the vivid present, of permanent and fixed objects that show "sensible effects." Understandings of the world he says are all eventually tested in and compared to this reality of sensory experience.

Schutz saw in James' theories important consequences as a theory of multiple realities centred around the world of senses, though he removed the concepts from their psychological context applying them to his interests in the social and phenomenological.

Importantly, Schutz (1970) uses "Province of Meaning" for James' sub-universes because:

> we emphasise that it is the meaning of our experiences, and not the ontological structure of the objects, which constitutes reality. (Ibid, 252)

Reality itself in Schutz's terms is not a single unified object or state of existence but a mode of operation by which people live their lives. The multiple realities however are all related to the paramount reality - the reality of everyday life. Schutz defines this as:

> The reality of our everyday life which our common-sense thinking takes for granted includes not only the physical objects, facts, and events within our actual and potential reach perceived as such in mere apperceptual scheme, but also appresentational references of a lower order by which the physical objects of nature are transformed into socio-cultural objects. (Ibid, 253)

For Schutz, all other provinces of meaning or multiple realities are related to the paramount reality "all other provinces of meaning may be considered its

modifications" (Ibid, 256) and it is to this reality that we must return to deal with the mundanities of existence.

In the case of television programmes, they too can be seen as a province of meaning with their own "cognitive style" (as Schutz puts it). A programme is an experience that is understood by viewers in relation to their own paramount reality. It uses forms that involve the viewer in the text in a certain way and which frame the text in terms of how the knowledge of the world it represents should be dealt with.

So it is with this conception in mind that I want to suggest that each text has its own realism, its own use of forms and kinds of content that create an experience that involves viewers/readers in a particular way and will be understood according to conventionalised sets of these forms. In this sense, in theory, every programme is a virtual reality, something not experienced at first hand by the individual but through an "artificial" medium that nevertheless involves the viewer/reader in a manner similar to which we are involved in the paramount reality.

If a critical social theory is applied to this perspective on reality and if a social semiotic conception of reality is considered to be composed of motivated signs, then realism can be used as a valuable tool for the understanding of how texts, in this case television programmes, relate to the social world. The scope of this thesis is limited to the descriptions of some televisual forms and programmes and how they might be understood in relation to social semiotic conceptions of reality

and realism. The effects of television forms and genres on how the world is understood by viewer/readers is an important question and depends on this conception of text, but cannot be addressed here. While there are crucial issues of the connections between the approach to reality here and how knowledge is circulated and acted upon in social groups, it lies beyond the scope of one thesis.

The Sociology of Knowledge

A social conception of reality and consciousness begins most usefully with Marx in " A Contribution to the critique of Political Economy ":

> It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but on the contrary, their social existence that determines consciousness. (Marx, 1971, 21)

The concept of reality as socially determined is central to this thesis and to social semiotics as a means of understanding meaning making in the world. The basis of social reality and its theoretical consequences was pioneered in the sociology of knowledge. While this field is not a precise target of this investigation, it has some relevance to a social theory of television realism.

The aspects of the sociology of knowledge that are important here are those concerned with the construction of reality and everyday life, since it is this to which I am linking notions of realism. This area is covered most relevantly by Berger and Luckmann (1971). Their use of Schutz's theory of everyday life is a detailed account of the reproduction of social realities in individuals' lifeworlds:

> The reality of everyday life appears already objectified, that is, as constituted by an order of objects that have been designated as objects before my appearance on the scene. The language used in everyday life continuously provides me with the necessary objectifications and posits the order within which these make sense and within which everyday life has meaning for me. (Ibid, 36)

Communication (Berger and Luckmann refer only to language) is therefore fundamental to the process of objectification, how the world takes on the aspect of concrete reality and what previously designated objects mean within societies.

This objectified world becomes taken for granted (to a certain extent) in the course of everyday day life and so becomes a part of what Berger and Luckmann call the "natural attitude":

> The natural attitude is the attitude of common-sense consciousness precisely because it refers to a world that is common to many men. Common-sense knowledge is the knowledge I share with others in normal, self-evident routines of everyday life. (Ibid, 37)

For Scannell (2000), the media, through their temporal connection to everyday life, play a crucial role in building an inter-subjective reality:

> Day in day out radio, television and newspapers link these two incommensurate human temporalities; the historical life of societies and the lifetimes of individual social members. Routinely they bring together the they-world and, in each case, my-world, which are now gathered into our-world, the common, public life-and-times of the generations of the present. (Ibid, 21)

Television and the everyday world are inextricably linked, and more closely perhaps than any other popular medium (Silverstone 1994, ix). In this sense television represents cultural specificities quite accurately. Indeed the choices from every mode represent cultural and social factors. Within this theory,

Television can be seen as both a product and a representation of how a culture or social groups within it understand and live their lives, and at the same time it participates in the construction and maintenance of that culture. In terms of social power, television programmes represent power relations and participate in sustaining them. The forms that programmes take play a central role in this process by constructing realisms which structure understanding.

A Social Semiotic theory of Realism

The social and phenomenological conception of reality is one composed of meanings and interpretations rather than of objective material entities. Reality is a product of everyday life: common experiences and social situations and of the cultural and socially situated ways they are made meaningful:

> A social reality (or 'culture') is itself an edifice of meanings - a semiotic construct....By their everyday acts of meaning, people act out the social structure, affirming their own statuses and roles, and establishing and transmitting the shared systems of value and knowledge. (Halliday 1978, 2)

A social semiotic theory of reality is concerned with how the material forms and resources of semiosis are used to construct representations of the world and the relations of power that are brought to bear on the process. As part of semiosis, questions about what is real and what is not are the result of conflict over how the world is categorised:

> 'Truth' and 'Reality' are therefore categories, from a semiotic point of view, which mark agreement over or challenge to the temporary state of the semiotic system. (Hodge and Kress, 1988, 122)

Of importance to the seemingly concrete nature of reality is that these categorisations pre-exist our entry into the world and what is real and significant in the semiotic system have to a greater or lesser extent been decided by struggles in the history of the society. Any historical analysis highlights differences of interpretation, to the reality of another time being different from our own. Volosinov (op.cit.) makes this point and indicates how different areas of social life represent reality in their own way:

> Each field of ideological creativity has its own kind of orientation toward reality and each refracts reality in its own way.... Every ideological sign is not only a reflection, a shadow, of reality, but is also itself a material segment of that very reality. (Ibid, 10-11)

For Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), a realism is defined as being:

> ....produced by a particular group, as an effect of the complex of practices which define and constitute that group. In that sense, a particular kind of realism is itself a motivated sign, in which the values, beliefs and interests of that group find their expression. (Ibid, 162)

In order to apply a concept of realism that ties in the phenomenological conception of reality to television, it must take account of the different relationships programmes have to viewers and how these are represented in the text. Realism requires agreement within social groups. Agreement not only in the acceptance of the relationship between the forms of a text and how it should be read, but also agreement on fundamental ways of understanding at the world.

3.5 CONCLUSION

The development of a theoretical approach to television realism is based on the social and cultural approaches to semiotics of Volosinov/Bakhtin, Barthes and Kress. They provide a means of considering the forms of television as connected to the material world and its social relations. Furthermore these theories allow for the examination both of the interest of the producers in creating texts and of their consideration and expectation of the potential viewer/readership within specific social environments. From an examination of textual theory (Graddol, Kress and van Leeuwen, Barthes), it is clear that every text is composed of a range of semiotic resources, and that each is meaningful and will contribute to the realism of a text as a whole.

In order to reconceptualise the notion of television realism in the light of these semiotic theories, I have found it necessary to draw on theories of social reality. These have been phenomenological in character (Shutz, Berger and Luckmann, and Halliday) and allow for a conception of realism that is based on the social construction of reality: that realism is itself a process of the construction of a represented world that is directly related to the social world of its producers and viewer/readers.

CHAPTER 4

THEORY PART TWO:

MODALITY, GENRE AND IMAGE CONSTRUCTION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The second chapter in the theory section of this thesis deals more closely with theoretical aspects of how television realisms are constructed in texts: the notion of modality, genre and a basis for understanding the use of the camera and editing in television texts as a semiotic resource.

4.2 MODALITY

Social Semiotics uses the concept of modality, drawn from Functional Linguistics to theorise texts and realism. For Halliday, (1994), modality is an assessment of the validity of what is said, an assertion of its truth. Essentially within Functional Linguistics modality is defined as the range of options between saying yes or no, a set of intermediate degrees. The choice between positive and negative in the finite element of a clause is termed "polarity" as in has / hasn't.

Modality in language can be expressed in terms of probability (possible, probable, certain), Usuality (sometimes, usually, always), Obligation (allowed, supposed, required) and Inclination (willing, keen, determined) and realised in the form of modal adjuncts such as perhaps, often, must, can and so on. Modality is also present in the use of other elements that have the function of expressing certainty or doubt in texts, such as adjectives and nouns. (Ibid, 91)

Kress and Hodge (1988) apply this linguistic system of modality to a wider range of semiotic fields and as the basis for understanding how truth and reality are constructed in texts. For them it is a central part of understanding meaning:

> [Modality] is crucial in determining the effects of semiosis, which only constrains action in so far as it affects belief. Contending parties seek to impose their own definition of what will count as "truth" and "reality", as a decisive moment in the battle for social control....'Truth' therefore describes a relation of participants in the semiosic process towards the system of classification which is at play in the process. 'Reality' is the description by the participants of that part of the system of classification which is held to be 'secure' and which is at play in the interaction. (Ibid, 121-122)

This conception of truth and reality is valuable for its fundamentally social location, its basis in relation to classifications of the world and its grounding in the interactions of everyday life. Reality is not a part of the system of classification, it is the system of classification.

Hodge and Kress locate their theory of modality in terms of affinity within or between social groups and relations to the semiotic systems within which truth and reality are constructed. Therefore agreement in what constitutes the semiotic system counts as high affinity and disagreement low affinity. Modality then:

> ....both reflects and organises the relationship of participants, responding to affinity on the grounds of gender, class, age and setting. (Ibid, 127)

Again, this is useful in considering relations between social groups and the means by which knowledge is shared and legitimated, how hegemony is established and how ideology operates. While accepting the value of this kind of application of

modality, I see it as part of a whole understanding of realism, rather than a totality in itself.

In *Reading Images* (1996), Kress and van Leeuwen elaborate on the theory of modality in images. They extend the theory of modality as outlined in Social Semiotics to cover a wider variety of images and forms. They describe the modality of an image as indicated by certain markers or cues, choices in the available representational resources of the media. In the case of photography for example this includes depth, illumination, colour saturation and brightness.

These cues or signs are organised according to the function or purpose of the text, and such sets of cues become conventionalised over time into certain kinds of images. These are termed "coding orientations" as they are produced and read in certain ways, or orientations. This concept is taken from Bernstein (1981) and Habermas (1984). For Bernstein, the coding orientation of an individual is a consequence of their relationship to the distribution of power. Habermas uses the term "rationality of action" to cover different ways of interacting with the world and consequently the different forms of communication and knowledge that are required.

Kress and van Leeuwen (idem) combine these positions, describing four coding orientations for images: scientific/technological, abstract, naturalistic and sensory. Images within each coding orientation are produced according to the function and purpose of the orientation: the use of particular visual resources is to some extent determined by the conventions of the orientation. For example, in

the scientific/technological coding orientation the use of black and white images can indicate a proximity to a scientific or technical reality, one that does not necessarily take account of everyday appearances but of underlying structures or properties. In this coding orientation, they argue, colour does not make images seem closer to reality but rather makes them less "real".

The "naturalistic" coding orientation, on the other hand, relates more to the everyday, it uses colour that is close to that experienced in our own senses. It is:

> the coding orientation all members of the culture share when they are being addressed as 'members of our culture', regardless of how much education or scientific-technological training they have received." (Ibid, 170)

I would consider that all coding orientations are also fundamentally related to everyday life too. While specific forms are used in certain areas for the particular purposes of that area, such as the scientific/technical, they do not exist separately from the construction of the "naturalistic" view. The choices made from the available semiotic modes by producers orientate or attempt to orientate the viewer/reader into understanding the text in a particular way, or to use Goffman's (1974) term "frame" the text in a certain way.

The value of modality in visual analysis is precisely elaborated by van Leeuwen (2000):

> In the semiotic perspective sketched here, the question is not how true a proposition actually is, but as *how true* it is represented, and what kind of truth is invoked by the choice of modality cues (e.g., objective vs. subjective truth). (Ibid, 192)

This is important, as in my analysis of television texts I do not distinguish between what is commonly accepted as real and what is not, but as how the world of the text and the viewer/readers place in it are constructed. In this sense the reality of the documentary is not contrasted with the unreality of drama, but rather the comparison is of how each is made authoritative for the purposes of representing the social world in a specific way

4.3 GENRE

The theories of genre that I am applying to television programmes come from social semiotics and the work of Bakhtin and Volosinov. In both cases the understanding of genre comes initially from the study of language rather than other means of communication. They offer a social approach to understanding the production of different kinds of texts, rather than being merely taxonomic or iconographic.

These approaches view genre as crucial in both meaning making and in the construction of social reality. This makes them the most suitable theories of genre for my examination of television realism. Although they are based on language, I consider their ideas to be applicable to all areas of communication.

Bakhtin's conception of genre

Mikhail Bakhtin considered the notion of genre in speech and writing in 1952-3. In Bakhtin (1986) he describes a social theory of language in use in the world. A central theme of this is how individuals use language within social constraints. For Bakhtin, language is never used outside of social environments and restrictions but individuals do at the same time use language in their own way and to suit their own needs:

> Each separate utterance is individual, of course, but each sphere in which language is used develops its own *relatively stable types* of these utterances. These we may call *speech genres.* (Italics in original, Ibid, 60)

Bakhtin made it clear that any category of speech genres should include the full range of communication from everyday kinds of speech to the more socially valued literary types. A genre is a category that expresses for Bakhtin the relationship between the individual and the wider concerns and relations of social groups. The individual speaks or writes through the genres that pre-exist them in the domains of a society:

> Certain features of language (lexicological, semantic, syntactic) will knit together with the intentional aim, and with the overall accentual system inherent in one or another genre....Certain features of language take on the specific flavor of a given genre: they knit together with specific points of view, specific approaches, forms of thinking, nuances and accents characteristic of the given genre.(Bakhtin, 1981, 288)

In these terms a genre for Bakhtin is a representation of a social position realised in the specific forms of language. As with other aspects of Bakhtin's work and others, I wish to extend the scope of these ideas to all kinds of signifiers: in the case of this thesis, visual signifiers.

Social semiotic theory of genre

In the social semiotic theory of genre that I wish to draw on, texts are produced as representations of social situations. As such, the conventionalised forms that they take are those that have become accepted over time, as the result of the application of social power in the production and maintenance of social occasions. The central point of a social semiotic theory of genre is summed up in this point, though it applies to all modes, and not just language:

> ....social factors provide the categories which produce linguistic form; the social factors are the generative categories out of which textual forms - genres - are produced. (Kress, 1990, 31)

In contrast to the more generally used notions of genre, that are often based on the content of the text, Kress' notion of genre is concerned with examining relations between social forces and their representation in texts:

> In my approach I have focused not on the task being performed by or with the text, but rather on the structural features of the specific social occasion in which the text has been produced and have seen these as giving rise to particular configurations of linguistic factors in the text which are realisations of or reflect these social relations and structures. (Kress, 1993b, 33)

This theory of genre begins with the social relations and organisation of a situation as always being represented in a text, such that genres inescapably encode these factors in the forms they use and the kinds of content that is present in the text.

A social approach to genre is also present in the work of Volosinov (op. cit.), who describes the relations between situation and text in these terms:

> Each situation, fixed and sustained by social custom, commands a particular kind of organisation of audience and, hence, a particular repertoire of little behavioural genres. The behavioural genre fits everywhere into the channel of social intercourse assigned to it and functions as an ideological relation of its type, structure, goal and social composition. (Ibid, 97)

The importance of genre to social semiotics is that a genre encodes the social values and relationships between people who are engaged in some sort of social occasion: a conventionalised set of functions and goals with specified relations between participants. By examining how genres are realised and constructed it is possible to understand what kinds of social relations and values are important and operative in a social group at a particular time.

> A genre isn't a charmed area where all other systems cease to apply. It is one specific instance of their operation, a syntagm of options prescribing behaviours in a specific class of situations. Through these prescriptions, genres encode and enforce a version of society, an ideological form, which because it is enshrined in interlocking production and reception regimes, seems like a prerequisite for meaning to occur. (Hodge and Kress, 1988, 51)

While film and television studies generally has a notion of genre related to content, social semiotics defines genres according to the general occasion or situation they represent and the conventional forms used to do this. Therefore, one set of representational forms can be used with a very wide selection of content. For an examination of television realism, this theory of genre is crucial as a specific genre encodes a particular relationship to reality. The practice or situation that the text represents has socially ascribed significance and relevance

to the lives of viewers. How the viewer is supposed to understand and make use of the knowledge and experience of the text is generically indicated. However, as social semiotic theory indicates, the degree to which such suppositions are attended to is dependent upon affinity with and membership of particular social groups. There is always the possibility of resistance and negation of the authority of a text as expressed and encoded by its generic form.

A genre provides a conventional set of signs that indicate a relationship to reality. These signs have become, over time, the accepted way of representing the status of texts in the social world. They are conventions understood by both the producer's of television texts and their audience. In specific relation to realism and reality, the social semiotic theory of genre indicates that they serve a central function in classifying and distinguishing different aspects of everyday life as represented by television:

> A multi-functional approach to genre would have to foreground that they are reality-maintaining and constructing processes. In this sense they both construct and are constructed by the typical and socially ratified situation-types that constitute the everyday realities of cultures....They are enmeshed in a whole web of social, political, and historical realities. (Threadgold, 1988, 106)

What is found to be of central importance in the study and description of genre within theories of social semiotics are:

> Genre is evidently part of patterned processes by which systems of ideas and belief (ideologies/the world of common-sense reality) are constructed, transmitted and maintained. These processes involve institutions, power relations, questions of access, and thus questions of social agents and subjects....we have to place the issue of genre within the wider context of social theory and of various attempts to understand the complexity of the "textual," or

> "discursive," construction of social realities and subjects.(Kress and Threadgold 1988, 226-227)

It should therefore be possible (according to this theory) to understand how certain constructions of everyday life and reality are represented and to an extent enforced within a culture by describing television genres themselves and their place in broadcasting schedules.

Applying a social semiotic and Bakhtinian conception of genre and communication to television programmes attempts to understand and describe them as part of a continuing process of meaning making. Television programmes are therefore watched and understood with reference to other television programmes and the forms they use. Through this it becomes possible for the viewer to distinguish between the types of programmes shown and the realisms associated with their generic form. The manner in which I wish to use genre is to examine the form of television programmes rather than their content. This theory of television programmes assumes that each has a relationship to reality that is formed primarily by the generic conventions of the kind of social situation; this is fundamental as an indication of how the programme deals with knowledge of the world. It indicates the kind of "agreement" between producers of programmes and audiences, that they will read the programme in the appropriate way. In effect it is a consequence of ideology, an indication of the relationships of power between producers of programmes and the public. In general the producer of the programme has the authority to tell the viewer/reader how to understand the text. Television genres are ideological complexes as they form the world in particular ways and make expectations of their viewers.

A genre in the terms described above would not be constituted necessarily by its ostensible "content": its setting, characters or narrative style. Rather, genres can be distinguished by the social occasion that is being represented and the use of similar signifiers that are conventionally associated with that occasion. It is this formulation of genre that I wish to use to examine realism in television texts. Therefore a genre such as "drama" could be described as one where similar forms are used to represent a social occasion in a text that is performed by actors in circumstances that are not real, but might be reconstructed in some way from real events or be entirely fictional. Other genres used in this thesis are "news", "documentary" and "quiz/game".

Mixing Genres

The account of genre I have described is well placed to theorise how and why genres change in their textual realisations, and also how they become mixed. To see genres as representing social relations while also aiding to construct and maintain them, links genres (along with signs themselves) to social situations and practices. As the situations and practices themselves change, become mixed or redundant altogether, the genres that represent them also change. Genres too are motivated in this sense. Genres are in a process of constant change as the world and understandings of it change too. This factor is explained in this way by Kress:

> Varying degrees of stability in social structures and in social relations lead to the relative stability of textual forms. Power may

> be brought to bear on certain textual forms to ensure relatively greater adherence to generic form; or groups may bring power to bear to resist the imposition of adherence to generic form. In any case the very facts of socially produced differences in the agents who make texts must always lead to differences of a greater or lesser extent. No one instance of a particular genre will ever exactly resemble any other instance of the same genre. (Kress, 1993a, 36)

The mixing of genres indicates a mixing of social situations and this is the case in whatever medium or representational resources are being used. The conventions in form and content that are used to represent a situation will themselves become mixed as the situation itself changes. In principle, then, it will be possible to describe and observe social changes, changes in relations of power and the creation of new social situations from the forms that are used represent them.

4.4 ANALYTICAL CONCEPTS IN IMAGE PRODUCTION

While other sections in this and the previous chapter have been strictly theoretical in orientation, this section deals with the intersection between the theory of meaning making and practical semiotic resources. Here I intend to develop the semiotic theories I have described by their application to some aspects of the actual means by which television texts are produced. I will discuss those analytical concepts in image production that I have chosen for the analysis of realism in television texts. The categories of resources for which these concepts are developed are the position, stability and movement of the point of view and the continuity and duration of shots.

Position

The position (as well as the movement and stability) of the camera serves to position the point of view of the viewer/reader and is therefore crucial to the manner in which the viewer/reader is represented as involved in the text. As van Leeuwen (2000) makes clear:

> What is signified in images is never just the people, places and things represented, but also the stance of the producer(s) of the image, the relation they seek to establish with the viewer, and what it is they seek to do or for or with the viewer. (Ibid, 186)

This section will discuss the camera's position and the resulting point of view in relation to the conventions of the "classical" text. Then I shall consider the vertical axis, the horizontal axis, canted framing and the distance used to depict represented participants.

The "classical" text and observer models of camera position

In the historical production of film and television one particular set of conventions has dominated the production of texts, especially dramatic texts. These conventions are generally referred to as "classical" by, for example, Bordwell (1985), Bordwell and Thompson (1993). These conventions have produced particular rules for many of the modes used in the production of texts such as lighting, sound and the structure of the narrative. However, in this thesis I will only consider classical conventions in relation to those modes that I will be analysing in detail: the position and point of view of the camera, movement,

stability, continuity and duration. The classical forms are used to produce a text that is spatially and temporally coherent, and that represents the position of the viewer/reader as relatively fixed. Indeed, Bazin (1967, 32) suggests that classical forms tend to represent the text as if it were to some extent staged and the viewer/reader represented as if a part of a theatrical audience.

Of importance to how the position of the camera and resulting viewpoints have been understood in film and television is the notion of the camera as an observer or witness of events. This concept dates back to the early days of filmmaking. Pudovkin (1958) writing in 1926, believed that the notion of the observer was crucial to how a film should be thought about and put together:

> The lens of the camera replaces the eye of the observer, and the changes of angle of the camera - directed now on one person, now on another, now on one detail, now on another - must be subject to the same conditions as those of the eyes of the observer. (Ibid, 70)

The explanation for camera position and movement in the invisible observer model relies on what Bordwell (1985, 9) calls an "anthropomorphic" description of the camera's use: "a narrative film represents story events through the vision of an invisible or imaginary witness." The camera's position or movement replicates that of a person watching events, and the camera movement is the movement of a person. As the observer is represented as if invisible or imaginary their presence remains seemingly unknown to the characters in the drama.

Bordwell (Ibid, 10), however, rejects the notion of an invisible observer as an explanation for camera movement and position in film because of a number of

problems. There are many cases in films where anthropomorphic camera positions are not taken up and positions are used which would be impossible for a human observer to occupy; or changes in position do not correlate to shifts in an observer's attention. Stylised techniques, such as split screens, also negate a reading of the image as that of an actual observer.

In Bordwell's own theory, the camera's position serves the primary function of telling the story in the most effective way, of showing what is going on, and is not motivated by positions that an actual observer could or should take up. In this case it is a concern for the narrative that determines camera positions. The actions of represented participants themselves he argues also denies the observer model; actors are positioned for the benefit of the camera and not as they would be if simply being observed:

> The invisible-observer model, being wholly concerned with space, cannot explain how action develops to prolong maximum visibility....In the fiction film, not only the camera position but the mise-en-scene, as it unfolds in time and space, is addressed to the spectator. (Ibid, 11)

His concern goes further, to a fundamental point about the analysis of the cinematic image, in relation to everyday perception of the world:

> We must recognize that analogies to phenomenal perception tend to "naturalize" the operations of film style. Camera and microphone become anthropomorphic, stationed like a person before a real phenomenon. The imaginary observer becomes a subject before an objective world of the story action. Yet staging an event to be filmed is no less part of fictional moviemaking than is camera placement or editing. (Idem)

Bordwell's criticisms of the invisible observer "model" are valuable so far as they provide a basis for the description of camera position and movement, depending upon how "anthropomorphic" it actually is. It also demonstrates how to consider a film text as a construct that utilises various "cues" or "styles" to different effect.

While the invisible observer and the narrative approaches consider the use of the camera in quite different ways, they are not irreconcilable. The two do co-exist within a text, though at certain moments one may predominate over the other. In some cases the camera may well be operated in some sense as if a human figure, taking positions and moving as a person would. In other shots the camera may be used for the maximum benefit of communicating the story or narrative. It would then seem that neither case describes the complete use of the camera in the "classic" film or in other kinds of text. Both offer an insight into how the camera is used as a resource for meaning making in relation to the "content" that it is representing.

Bordwell's concept of anthropomorphism is a useful means of describing the position of the camera in relation to represented participants in television texts as many different kinds of programmes frequently or exclusively use anthropomorphic positions and movement. The extent to which the viewpoint of the image replicates that of a possible observer is a means of signifying a particular kind of authority for what is being represented. Predominantly anthropomorophic positions (and movement) offer a view that is "embodied" by the camera, what is signified may be the authenticity of the camera (and by implication the viewer) witnessing an event, as if being present. By contrast,

unanthropomorphic points of view admit to the construction of the text because of the staging and intervention that is required by producers.

Rouch (1979) remarks on how the camera operator can become both witness and participant:

> ....it is a question of training, of the kind of mastery of the body that proper gymnastics might allow us to acquire.....the cameraman-filmmaker can really get into his subject, can precede or follow a dancer, a priest, a craftsman. He is no longer just himself but he is a 'mechanical eye' accompanied by an 'electronic ear'. (Ibid, 57)

The use of anthropomorphic camera positions and movement in contrast to more fixed positions or positions that would be unavailable to a human observer (and therefore in some way 'artificial'), may be to suggest to some extent that the viewer is "seeing for themselves" what is being represented. Where positions and movement are not anthropomorphic, the involvement of the audience with the text will be different. In such cases the text's producers may wish to distance the represented world from the viewers' experience of everyday perception, the authority of the representation may rest more with the text's producers or broadcasting institution. Some texts may mix both kinds of viewer/reader involvement in order to create particular meanings for particular sequences.

In some television texts, the use of the camera in a studio setting and the conventions associated with it has retained a theatrical format. In these cases the camera adopts an anthropomorphic position that replicates that of a theatrical audience: directly facing represented participants who are in front of a set of

some kind. Such a position represents the relations between performers and audiences: the audience is a group that traditionally does not move or participate in the processes involved, the view or views are relatively fixed and stable. However this is not always the case and changes in the social relations of these genres has led to changes in the signifiers used to represent them. The studio and even the television audience may take a more active part in the text and the camera represents this by, for example, taking up positions that show individual members of the audience directly.

Texts that exclusively use anthropomorphic positions and movement may construct a realism where the camera is represented as a visible observer: literally acting as a witness to events. The represented participants may know the camera is present and acknowledge that presence, there is no attempt to produce a dramatic "illusion" that they are not being filmed. A clear example of the visible observer is the "fly on the wall" or observational documentary (Nichols, 1991, 29). In these cases a camera crew follows and observes "ordinary" people or more recently celebrities and records their actions. Another example is the news or documentary report where the crew act as a visible observer of actions, though on some occasions the crew will attempt to make the camera as invisible as possible in investigative situations. In some contemporary wildlife programmes the position and movement of the camera is meant to replicate that of the animal under investigation, such as ducks in flight, in order to increase the involvement of the viewer/reader with the subject of the text. These might be termed "Zoopomorphic" positions.

Where there is a visible observer the camera's use is to some extent close to human perception. The use of handheld cameras, often by those producing actuality reporting, are necessarily anthropomorphic as the camera is closely "connected" to the operator, almost as an extension of the operator themselves. In texts such as these it is conventional for the camera to remain largely unacknowledged so that the impression that the participants are engaging in their lives as normal is not broken, though direct address to the camera is also used for specific purposes.

Corner (1995a) considers the observational mode as "central to the documentary aesthetic" in television and ties it closely to the ontological status of the text:

> Grounded, with few exceptions, in the pretence that those portrayed are unaware of the cameras presence, the observational mode provides viewers with a vicarious experience of the real – an experience of witness, against which to form a response....What they have to believe is that nothing significant would have changed had the camera not been there, thereby legitimating the way in which its absence is pretended. (Ibid, 85)

This is useful as it points to the construction of the viewer/readers' point of view and its implications for how the text will be understood in relation to social reality. So it is possible to say that the observational mode does not make the text real, but rather endows it with a certain status as if it were real. Furthermore, Corner points out an inherent contradiction in the status of observation:

> Paradoxically, the observational mode places the viewer in relationship to "real action" much closer to that of screen fiction than to that of primary perception. In most cases in everyday life, the *acknowledgement* of an observer by the observed would very much be expected, to the point of stopping ongoing behaviour and changing its nature. (Ibid, 86)

The world of the text is not, even when using observational forms, a direct reconstruction of everyday experience, rather it is always mediated by conventions of production. It is not meant to be as directly involving as real life, but involving in a distanced and somewhat remote way.

Baudrillard (1983) points to an example of the observational text or "TV-Verité" from the USA in his analysis of representation and reality. *An American Family* was broadcast in 1973 and was among the first television programmes to use a "fly on the wall" style of camera movement and position. For Baudrillard such a text represents a fundamental change in social relations:

> Such is the later stage of development of the social relation, our own, which is no longer one of persuasion (the classical age of propaganda, ideology, publicity, etc.) but one of dissuasion and deterrence: "YOU are news, you are the social, the event is you, you are involved, you can use your voice, etc. (Ibid, 53)

The concept of anthropomorphism in the camera's position can be used to contrast how the use of camera position and movement represent social relations between the text and viewer in the construction of a represented world and hence a realism. The increasing production and popularity of observational texts in TV schedules considered in a social theory of realism indicates, as Baudrillard suggests, that the place of the individual in relation to social institutions is represented as changing rapidly.

Subjective and objective camera positions

Branigan's (1992, 76) conception of the subjective image in film is directly realised by the camera's position when the "framing of space at a given moment" is linked "to a character as its origin". That is, it must be seen to be from the character's point of view. An objective image is realised when there is a "refusal to focalise" from a character's point of view: there is no direct relationship between a character's position and the camera's. Branigan distinguishes between the use of the term "point of view" as a representation of the view of a character, for which he uses a hyphenated version: point-of-view or the abbreviation POV, and the general concept applying to the positioning of any shot: point of view. For the most part I will be using the term point of view to refer to the represented position of the viewer/reader within the text as constituted by the producers' use of the camera. Branigan also makes the point that the way certain shots are made meaningful is a consequence of convention:

> There is nothing 'natural' about a POV shot or other subjective structures. The POV shot cannot be recognized until we learn its elements and attach special significance to them. (Ibid, 73)

In the "classical" conventions of film and television, the position of the camera in the subjective point-of-view shot occupies approximately though not exactly the same space as the character, and supposedly at the same time. As a sign it also produces a particular kind of meaning and form of involvement: an offer to the viewer to identify with the character in question; to literally put oneself in their place. The objective point of view by contrast does not make an offer for identification but instead views represented participants from the outside, as entities externally viewed. In doing so the objective view more closely relates to how everyday perception of the world is experienced and constructed socially.

While a dramatic text can move between objective and subjective point of view shots, the predominance of one or the other in a programme has consequences for its kind of realism. It also defines the genre of the programme in an ontological fashion, as an observer of events. If a point of view were to be represented as leaping into the position of somebody else, the form would not be compatible with the representation of a witness at actual events.

In the following sections I shall consider specific aspects of the image as produced by the position of the camera in three dimensions in relation to represented participants.

The vertical axis

A camera is positioned in relation to represented participants so that it is either level with them, or above them pointing down or below and pointing up. For Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) the extent to which objects or represented participants in an image are looked up to or down upon is a signifier of relations of power:

> ....if a represented participant is seen from a high angle, then the relation between the interactive participants (the producer of the image and hence also the viewer) and the represented participants is depicted as one in which the interactive participant has power over the represented participant - the represented participant is seen from the point of view of power. If the represented participant is seen from a low angle, then the relation between the interactive and represented participants is depicted as one in which the represented participant has power over the interactive participant. If, finally the picture is at eye level, then the point of

> view is one of equality and there is no power difference involved. (Ibid, 146)

While the question of power is important to meaning of a particular shot, at the same time other aspects of its motivation in the use of vertical position also need to be taken into account. Bordwell and Thompson (1993) are dismissive of formulas for interpreting camera angles:

> The analysis of film as art would be a lot easier if technical qualities automatically possessed such hard and fast meanings, but individual films would thereby lose much of their uniqueness and richness. The fact is that framings have no absolute or general meanings. (Ibid, 213)

While Bordwell and Thompson are right to sound a note of caution, the vertical axis has been used in images to represent power relations. In the analysis of the use of camera position as a motivated signifier it must be understood in the particular contexts in which it occurs. The conventions associated with the representation of social occasions will contribute to how the camera is used in specific instances as will the interests and intentions of the text's producers.

The horizontal axis

The horizontal angle is discussed by Kress and van Leeuwen in terms of involvement between the viewer/reader and the image:

> The difference between the oblique and the frontal angle is the difference between detachment and involvement. The horizontal angle encodes whether or not the image producer (and hence, willy-nilly, the viewer) is 'involved' with the represented participants or not. The frontal angle says, as it were: 'what you see here is part of our world, something we are involved with.' The

> oblique angle says 'what you see here is *not* part of our world; it is *their* world, something *we* are not involved with.' (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, 143)

As with the vertical angle, a consideration of a generic conventions is important in considering the meaning and production of the horizontal angle in the camera position. Involvement will be used as a signifier in particular ways according to how the producers of a text wish to construct a realism, along with the other aspects of camera use and other modes.

Direct involvement (an image of a represented participant directly facing the camera) is used in many television genres to mean that the viewer/reader is being directly addressed by the represented participant. It carries with it a signifier of authority, that the audience is addressed by a representative of the television institution who is acting as a mediator between the world of the text and the audience. The use of the angle of involvement and the direct address to the audience is an important signifier in television and is used in many genres to signify what Nichols (1981, 174) calls "exposition". It is a means of indicating that what is represented should (in the view of the text's producers) be understood as factual, that represented participants are acting as themselves. It is a modality marker and as such involvement is an important aspect in the construction of realism and the authority of the text.

Canted framing

The television image may be tilted to one side or the other such that its "horizon" is not level. Such a signifier indicates a represented world which seeks to be seen

as different from the norm, where a basic aspect of perception (the stability of the horizon) cannot be taken for granted (Turner, 1999, 61). The frame may also be canted when the camera is highly unstable indicating circumstances where complete control of the camera and therefore the represented world is not possible or desirable.

The use of the canted frame as a signifier of abnormality will necessarily vary according to the interests of the producers of the text and the generic environment in which it is used. For example, canted frames may be common in music videos, precisely as a sign of distance from traditional texts, while such distinctions are possible. The canted shot, therefore, may be 'normal' for the music video or other kinds of representation. Where more formal social relations are represented or there is a wish to represent the world as relatively unchanging, the canted frame may be entirely absent.

Camera distance

Kress and van Leeuwen's discussion of size of frame and distance in images draws very profitably on notions of social distance (Hall, 1969) in everyday life:

> The people we see in images are for the most part strangers. It is true that we see some of them (politicians, film and television stars, sports heroes, etc.) a good deal more than others, but this kind of familiarity does not of itself determine whether they will be shown in close shot or medium shot or long shot. The relation between the human participants represented in images and the viewer is once again an imaginary relation. People are portrayed *as though* they were our friends, or *as though* they are strangers. Images allow us to imaginarily come close to public figures as if they were our friends and neighbours - or to look at people like

> ourselves as strangers, 'others'. (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, 131)

Camera distance has no precise measurement, but they can be roughly determined by the size of represented participant relative to the frame. Bordwell and Thompson (1993) underline this point and indicate the importance of the terms:

> Categories of framing are obviously a matter of degree. There is no universal measure of camera angle or distance. No precise cut off point distinguishes between a long shot and an extreme long shot, or a slightly low angle and a straight on angle....What is important is that we use the term in ways that enable us to analyze how that framing functions in the particular film and to share our analytical insights with others. (Ibid, 213)

Rather than the framing of objects or represented participants relating purely to whether the viewer needs to see something up close or view the general environment, the social dimension suggests that close ups are an invitation to intimacy and medium or long shots a rather more formal means of dealing with the viewer. How and with whom intimacy or formality is used will depend on relations of power between the text and the viewer/reader. With certain represented participants it is not conventional or possible for the camera to get close enough to represent them in close up. Therefore the meaning of distance in relation to realism is as Kress and van Leeuwen (idem) discuss, a representation of social distance; though it is a manifestation of this through generic convention and the specific interests of producers. A close up or other shot type will not always signify the same thing, but it will be understood in relation to the notions of social distance that exist within a culture.

Steadiness

The stability of the image is a meaningful resource, as the quote from Rouch in Chapter 2 indicates, stability used to be the given, standard and accepted way to depict the world with a film or television camera, and in many television genres it still is. The stability of the image produced by the camera can be understood as a motivated sign. The changing use of stability and instability therefore serves to illustrate changes in social relations through the corresponding realisms that represent them.

The instability in an image that is produced by the use of a hand held camera is of particular interest in this thesis, as it is used in a number of the texts that are examined. Importantly, the instability and movement that are characteristic of the use of a hand held camera in television texts have become signifiers of the representation of events as real and uncontrolled by the text's producers (Moseley, 2000, 314). Allen and Gomery (1985, 221), in an examination of the history of cinema vérité in America, go back to the "shaky, jerky, often blurred images" of newsreel footage in the Second World War as the beginning of the representation of events as if real through the use of hand held cameras and their instability. However it was not until the 1960s that such images were acceptable for documentaries shown on television in the United States. Fetveit (1999, 791-792) suggests a direct connection between the vérité movements of the 1960s and the "reality TV" of today's television (where footage from real life is used, either from camera crews observations or from amateur recordings). The "ragged movements of the hand-held camera....testifies to the authenticity of the

recordings". For Fertveit (Idem), both the vérité movement and "reality TV" seek to depict events as they happen, as if from an 'objective' point of view.

Allen and Gomery suggest a connection between the liberal politics of the Kennedy era and the acceptance of social realist vérité documentaries by US television channels at the same time:

> The style of cinéma vérité accommodates a liberal philosophical view in that it assumes that whatever inequities are revealed through the cinematic observation of reality can be solved by adjustments in the social system. Allen and Gomery (op. cit., 237)

One of the key filmmakers of the American vérité movement, Robert Drew, explained the political impact of the form as

> What it can add to the journalistic spectrum is something absolutely unique - strong experience of what it is like to be someplace else, seeing for yourself into the dramatic developments in the lives of people caught up in stories of importance. (quoted in Allen and Gomery, Ibid, 235)

The instability of the image as one of the signifiers of the use of a hand held camera, along with anthropomorphic movement and the position of the point of view, and is used for the representation of events as beyond the control of the text's producers and therefore as close to everyday reality. An unstable image is also one of the signifiers that represents the viewer/reader as if they were a participant themselves in the depicted events and constructs a more personal rather than institutional form of authority and therefore less rigid relationships between represented participants. The stability of the image contributes to the extent to which the represented world is shown as secure and controlled.

Movement

While the stability of the image is an issue concerning movement of the camera, a separate category is required for other kinds of camera movement that consist of more specific movements of the camera than the jolts that make up instability. As an overall effect instability may well be deliberate, though each specific movement is not planned. Camera movement is made up of a number of elements each of which are meaningful and together produce the movement as a whole. These elements are the speed of the movement, the direction of the movement and the stability of the movement. As with the category of camera position, camera movement may be anthropomorphic to varying extents. That is the movement of the camera follows a course and speed that would be possible for a human observer to take. Speed of the movement that is much greater or slower than the movement of represented participants may signify some specific meaning that producers wish to draw attention to. The fast movement of the camera might be considered to add dynamism and urgency, while slower movement may mean that there is time for contemplation of the image by the audience and consideration of detail and that therefore the pace of events is more leisurely.

In terms of the construction of realism, camera movement within genres and particular texts represents social relations and may contribute to the legitimation of those relations. An absence of camera movement contributes to the authority of the text and suggests a world that is unchanging and rigid, where the relationship

between the text and viewer/reader is fixed to some extent. Where there is camera movement, the world is constructed as being more dynamic, and social relationships are therefore likely to be represented as changing or with the possibility of change. The text/viewer relationship is less stable, and it at least appears that the viewer is able to see more of the world "for themselves" than when there is little or no movement. As with the use of other resources, the motivation for the extent of camera movement also represents a conception of the possible audience for the text and the representation of social relationships that they are assumed to expect or desire.

The direction of camera movement in itself can be significant, and again when it is not related to movement that is anthropomorphic it will signify a certain distancing from the experience of the everyday. A camera that rises up high above represented participants would break the sense of presence in an otherwise anthropomorphic text. Movement that maintains a strictly anthropomorphic path will be more consistently observational in meaning.

Of importance to a discussion of how camera movement is used in television is how the camera moves in relation to the represented participants. In order to describe this aspect of camera movement I will use the terms *dependent* and *independent* camera movement, adapted from Bordwell (1985, 124) and Bordwell and Thompson (1993, 224).

When camera movement is dependent on the movement of represented participants, the camera follows the represented participants. If the represented

participants are not moving the camera does not move. In the case of independent camera movement the camera moves without following the represented participants or moves even though represented participants are stationary. The dependence or independence of camera movement is a signifier of relations between the viewer/reader and the represented world and its participants. Dependent movement of the camera represents the producers' intention for a literal dependence by the viewer/reader on the represented participants. The fact that the camera does not move unless it is following the represented participants indicates the construction of difference in power and authority: that the represented participants, and the text itself, are represented at that moment as more authoritative. When the camera moves independently, authority shifts to the viewer/reader; the movement is not tied to represented participants, the point of view is able to move without them.

Independent movement can signify a lack of co-ordination or complicity between the camera operator and the represented participants. As such it may therefore seem intrusive, moving without the authority of those being represented and as a consequence represent the text as less contrived than when the camera is dependent and appears to be more restricted in its movement as it occurs in co-ordination with represented participants.

The aspects covered here concerning camera position and movement are not isolated from each other but are used in conjunction to produce a coherent realism. It is therefore likely that certain camera positions will be used with certain movements to produce particular meanings and construct the realism of

the represented "world" in a particular way. Genres may be expected to combine forms of camera movement and position that represent social occasions in certain relatively consistent ways, though as the section on Genre above demonstrated, genres are always in a process of change. The changes in the use of camera positions and movement, and therefore the realisms they construct as motivated signs, represent wider changes in social relations.

Millerson (1999, 86-96) usefully distinguishes between various forms of support or mounting for cameras that have been developed to ensure that certain kinds of movement, position and stability are possible in the image. In a television studio it is common to use a pedestal which allows for smooth movement in three dimensions of large and heavy, high quality cameras. Wheeled tripods are also used in the studio though are less precise in their movement and consequently less common. Outside of the studio tripods are used for fixed shots with various hybrid mountings also used, such as the field pedestal or the pneumatic tripod which allow smooth changes in the height of the camera. For smooth movement outside the studio film dollies are used in conjunction with tracks or pneumatic tires and different kinds of crane or jib are used inside and out to raise the camera above ground level.

Movement of the camera in certain cases may be distinguished between movement of the "head" and of the "body". The head being the camera itself and the body being the mounting such as a pedestal, tripod or dolly. Movement of the head alone produces movement that has been termed in film, the pan (horizontal) or tilt (vertical) while movement of the body produces movement termed track (in

and out) or crab (left and right) (Watts, 1984, 130; Millerson, 1999, 90). The handheld camera has no mounting as such and therefore such distinctions in movement cannot be made, this is also the case with the use of the Steadicam where the "body" of the camera is that of the operator themselves. A camera that is not fixed to a mount but held by or attached directly to the operator makes movement possible that appears responsive to the environment. It is able to move quickly as one unit rather than the generally slower and potentially less anthropomorphic movement of a camera on a dolly, tripod or pedestal. It also does away with the distinction between the head and body of the camera and consequently those terms used to represent its movement. Greater integration between camera and operator allows the camera greater freedom of movement and therefore movement that may be read as more "natural" and anthropomorphic.

The development and use of the technology of camera mounting and movement is not an organic process. As Street (1984) points out:

> The technology of communication can involve many things, themselves the outcome of previous social processes and 'choices', and in order to study these we have to examine the structural, political and ideological features of the society in question. (Ibid, 96)

The specific use and acceptability of camera stability and movement is a response to a process of legitimation: the extent to which certain forms of representation and their meanings are acceptable within social groups. In the development of the hand held camera the kind of images that result from its use only became legitimate on television some time after the Second World War. By this time

relations of power and authority had changed such that the representation of anthropomorphic insecurity by broadcasting institutions was allowable.

Continuity

The position of the camera as with other aspects of television production (such as camera movement and editing, which are discussed below) is guided by certain technical conventions designed to maintain spatial continuity of the image. These conventions of production have also been predominant in the production of film, though there is wide variation in the extent to which they are followed. They are "policed" by technical standards and institutional guidelines and represent a particular construction of the social world based on a regularity and stability in spatial relations between one shot and another. Here I will point out two aspects of the continuity system that relate directly to the position of the camera.

Firstly, in order to preserve the relative positions, left to right, on screen of represented participants, camera positions remain on one side of a theoretical 180 degree line (Bordwell, 1985; Watts, 1984). In the case of a studio setting such a line is already present in the physical layout of the set or stage itself. In a text there may be shots from the performers or presenters view of the audience itself, but not usually shots from the rear of the set looking at the presenters and the audience beyond them. A sequence of shots that switched from one side of the line to the other would result in a sudden change or jump in the relative position of represented participants.

A second convention that relates continuity to camera position is that a change in the angle of the camera to the represented participants between shots should be greater than 30 degrees, so as to make the change substantial enough to represent a motivated shift in the camera's position. Where the change in angle is less than 30 degrees, the camera positions are considered too similar and would potentially jar with the audience, calling attention to the construction of the text itself.

Continuity has been the subject of some debate in Film studies in relation to its ideological properties. Baudry (1974) drawing on the psychoanalysis of Lacan considers continuity as a part of the basic cinematic apparatus that is fundamentally ideological in character. Continuity, he suggests, by producing an illusionary unity in the subject and the narrative only serves to perpetuate the dominant ideology rather than allowing for a fragmented subject that might challenge it. Nichols (1981, 301) argues against this position, stating that continuity is not inherently ideological, but rather it may be used to contest dominant ideologies and promote change: "Politically revolutionary cinema need not necessarily denounce its own technological base and refuse to present a coherent, stable world." For Kolker (1998) the continuity style is crucially an attempt to efface the technical process of making a film and leave the story to "tell itself" as if unmediated. Kolker further locates continuity in the domain of the economics of film production:

> ....when we talk about the classical style of Hollywood film making, we are talking about more than aesthetics , but about a larger text of economics, politics, ideology and stories - the economics of narrative. (Ibid, 18)

Kolker's argument in relation to economics is that the continuity style is pleasing to the audience and that it therefore makes economic sense to make films using this style. However he also points to those films and directors that work against the classic Hollywood form (such as those of the French New Wave), but at the same time they are unable to completely escape the continuity system without referring to it in some way.

As a signifier or set of signifiers, the system of continuity does to an extent represent a "traditional" means of constructing a represented world, and a text that goes against the rules and conventions of the continuity system will be presented as being potentially different or more radical in some way. This does not imply that material that challenges dominant discourses cannot be presented within the continuity system, nor that texts which do not follow continuity cannot be in some sense be reactionary. The choice of following, or not following, the "rules" of continuity represents a decision by the text's producers on how to frame the discourse of the text. It further indicates a conception of the audience as the extent to which they are willing to accept traditional forms or possibly more challenging ones in the construction of the text's realism.

The rules of continuity commonly apply to the changing of images through the use of editing. In the continuity system or style, changes from shot to shot follow the 180° and 30° rules. This ensures continuity in the representation of spatial relations between represented participants. For Bourdon (2000, 543) continuity aims at producing transparency as "Editing is supposed to be fluid, and switches between cameras should not create the impression of abrupt, unexplained

switches between places and periods." Continuity editing also requires that the elements of image such as lighting, colour, image texture, represented participants and objects are kept consistent throughout shots in a sequence, changing where there is motivation for them to do so (Reisz and Millar, op. cit., 226).

The use of continuity editing constructs a realism that represents social and cultural notions of the way in which events occur in everyday life. As Burch (1973) discusses, the purpose of the continuity system is to produce a realism that is based firmly on an attempt to represent the world as it is constructed in social reality:

> ....film-makers....noticed that if they wanted to maintain the illusion of theatrical space, a "real" space in which the viewer has an immediate and constant sense of orientation, certain rules had to be respected if the viewer was not to lose his footing, to lose that instinctive sense of direction he always has in traditional theatre and believes he has in life. (Ibid, 10)

Duration

The amount of time between edits in a text, the duration of a particular shot, is itself a signifier. Turner (1999, 71) draws on the films of Andy Warhol to suggest that shots of long duration "let the camera record reality without any mediation". Bazin (1967, 37) considered shots of relatively long duration as better able to represent reality than shots of short duration, such as those used in the "montage" style. He considered that the shot of long duration or the "long take" showed the time taken to perform the action more closely than an action cut

up into a number of shots that might take up less screen time than the action itself. In this sense, shots of long duration may be used to represent the world of the text as if closer to actual personal experience. Fetveit (op. cit., 792) sees the long take used in television as allowing producers to "display the action as it unfolds". Such shots can therefore be used as one means of representing the world of the text as if it were less mediated than a text with many shots of short duration.

4.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have built on the theories of social semiotics, texts and realism in Chapter 3 in order to discuss wider issues around the organisation of signs and texts. This has entailed an engagement with modality as a term derived from systemic functional linguistics and applied to an understanding of the variable orientation of texts towards truth and reality by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) and van Leeuwen (2000). Of importance here is that there is not an absolute distinction between fact and fiction in representation, but rather a process in which a text is orientated towards the understandings of truth and reality belonging to certain social groups.

I have then described a theory of genre, drawn from Kress, Bakhtin and Threadgold that is most appropriate for the analysis of realism in television texts of different kinds, as it centres on the use of specific forms conventionally associated with the representation of specific social occasions. From this it is possible to consider how conventions of representing a social occasion change as

the social relations of the occasion itself change. Therefore, from analysis of the changing forms of texts within genres it is possible to track changes in wider social relations. The extent to which the producers of a text maintain or challenge these conventions is also important with regard to their position in respect of the viewer/reader.

The final section of this chapter examined the specific analytical concepts (the use and position of the camera, continuity and the duration of shots) that form the basis for the investigation of television realism and will be further elaborated in the next chapter in regard to the process of transcription and analysis. This next chapter represents the interface between the relatively abstract theory and the practical means of the production of signs in the television text, and therefore a crucial step in the consideration of television realism.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The first section of this chapter describes the process of the selection of programmes that are used as data for the analysis of television realism. This includes an explanation of the selection criteria for the programmes, details of the programmes themselves and the manner in which samples were taken from them for transcription. The following section describes in detail the formulation of a means of transcribing television texts for the purpose of analysing the use of the camera in relation to television realism, beginning with a brief discussion of theories of transcription (particularly Ochs, 1979). Next is a description of how transcription categories evolved within the thesis from initial categories to the final categories used in the analysis: position, stability and movement. Finally in this chapter there is an outline of how the samples were analysed: the relationship between the theoretical issues of the production of realism through the use of the camera and the data as it has been transcribed.

5.2 DATA SELECTION

Selection of texts

This section will describe the process by which specific television texts were selected for analysis in the development of the thesis. Specific information on the programmes used for analysis is given in the following section. This section is

divided according to the criteria used in the selection of the texts for analysis: theme, genre, channel, schedule, and camera movement.

The summary table below illustrates the criteria for selection, mentioned above, for each of the 6 texts used in the thesis:

Title	Theme	Genre	Channel	Schedule	Cam.Mov.
The Bill	Police	Drama	ITV	Eve.	some
Homicide	Police	Drama	Channel 4	Eve.	lot
Mersey B.s	Police	Doc.	BBC 2	Eve.	lot
CCWC	Food	Game/Cookery	BBC 1	Morn.	v. little
BBC B.N.	Current Affairs	News	BBC 1	Morn.	v. little
C5 News	Current Affairs	News	Channel 5	Eve.	some

Table 1 Selection Criteria

Theme

The theme of the text refers to the thematic content of the text. The basis of selection has been to include a number of different themes within the group of selected texts, though with some of those texts sharing themes. Three of the texts share the same theme of the police: *Mersey Blues*, *The Bill* and *Homicide* though each represents the police through a markedly different construction of realism. Two of the texts represent the theme of current affairs/politics: *BBC Breakfast News* and *Channel 5 News* and one text the theme of food/cookery, *Can't Cook Won't Cook.* The choice of sample texts that represent similar themes allows for the analysis of realisms in texts that deal with similar issues across and within genres.

Genre

The notion of genre that I am using here has been outlined in section 4.3, as the conventionalised representation of a social occasion. The texts that are used here for analysis are taken from 4 different genres: News (*BBC Breakfast News* and *Channel 5 News*), Drama (*The Bill* and *Homicide: Life on the Street*), Documentary (*Mersey Blues*) and a generic hybrid Game/Cookery (*Can't Cook Won't Cook*). The texts were selected partially for the purpose of examining how realism is constructed in representations of different kinds of social occasion, and potential differences between texts representing the same social occasion.

Channel

The selection of the texts was determined also by the channel on which they were broadcast. Television channels have specific purposes, roles and identities within the cultures and societies they broadcast to. The programmes they broadcast represent this to varying extents. The selection of texts that are analysed here cover the main terrestrial broadcasters, in order to consider the potential differences in text's realisms. *BBC Breakfast News* and *Can't Cook Won't Cook* were selected from BBC 1, the more popular of the public broadcasting channels, in an initial study of morning television. The news programme *Channel 5 News* is shown on Channel 5, the most recent addition to terrestrial broadcasters. As such *Channel 5 News* plays an important role in defining the identity of the channel as distinct from its competitors. *The Bill* is broadcast on ITV, the most

popular (in terms of audiences) independent, commercial channel. By contrast *Homicide: Life on the Street* is shown on Channel 4 and is part of that channel's policy of diverse programming, and consequently has smaller audiences than ITV. The selection of *Homicide: Life on the Street* then offers the chance for a comparison of the construction of realism with *The Bill*; a text positioned more towards the "mainstream". The other programme concerning the police used as a text, *Mersey Blues*, was broadcast on BBC 2. This is the public channel for "minority" tastes (Goodwin and Whannel, 1990) and therefore *Mersey Blues* is positioned in terms of being of some kind of special interest rather than of general interest.

Schedule

The scheduling of the programme is an important criterion in the selection of a text for analysis, as it has consequences on how the producers wish to represent the world in their text in relation to a particular conception of who might be watching and their requirements. For this reason texts were used from different time "slots" of the schedule. While four of the programmes were transmitted in the evening, *BBC Breakfast News* and *Can't Cook Won't Cook* are both taken from the morning schedule of BBC 1, *BBC breakfast News* is broadcast from 7 to 9 am on week day mornings, while *Can't Cook Won't Cook* airs at various times in the daytime schedule. As suggested above, the realism of a text is a signifier of a conception of the audience and this is partly determined by the location of the text in the schedule.

Camera Movement

The extent to which camera movement was used in a text became a significant criterion for the selection of texts as the use of the camera became one focus for investigating television realism in this thesis. As texts that were selected early on in the development of the thesis such as *The Bill* and *BBC Breakfast News* have relatively little camera movement, other texts in the same genre and discourse area were chosen for the purpose of contrast in the production of realism. The police drama *Homicide: Life on the Street* makes considerably use of a hand held camera with frequent movement and *Channel 5 News* has more camera movement than has been traditional in news programmes. The documentary *Mersey Blues* contains a great deal of camera movement and is therefore a useful text to analyse in terms of realism and the semiotic resource of the camera in relation to its genre.

Programme details

In this section each programme from which samples have been drawn and then used in the analysis of realism will be described from the perspective of its place in the television schedule, audience figures and location within the television industry. This provides some contextual detail in order to frame the descriptions and analysis. Audience figures are for August 1999, except where otherwise stated, and are taken from the Broadcasters Audience Research Board web site http://www.barb.co.uk

1 *Mersey Blues*

Mersey Blues is produced from the tradition in British television of the "fly on the wall" documentary series. In this case the series follows several units of plain-clothes officers at their station and in the city of Liverpool as they go about their work. A current term for such programmes is "docu-soap" (Kilborn, 1999) as a film crew follows a particular group of people in their everyday life and work for some time, and a series over a number of weeks is produced from it.

Mersey Blues was an independent production for the BBC, by Hart-Ryan productions and was shown during February and March of 1999, Wednesdays at 21:30 on BBC 2 for 5 consecutive weeks. It attracted audiences that were regularly between 3.5 and 4 million viewers. Each episode focused on different members of the CID in the Liverpool force.

2 *Homicide: Life on the Street*

Homicide: life on the Street is a US Police drama series set in Baltimore, Maryland. It is produced by Barry Levinson, a film director and depicts the operations of a murder squad. *Homicide: Life on the Street* is shown in the UK on Channel 4 at varying times in the evening after 10 PM for 50 minutes. It's audience figures are not listed on the Broadcasters Audience Research Board (BARB) web site as they are not large enough to be included in Channel 4's top 30 programmes, and must therefore be below 2 million.

3 *The Bill*

This is one of the UK's longest running drama series, beginning in 1983. Though it has undergone a number of transformations over this time, it is presently in an hour-long format shown twice a week at 20:00 on Tuesday and Thursday evenings. At the time the sample texts were recorded (1994) the programme was half an hour and three episodes a week, *The Bill* is produced by Thames Television. *The Bill*'s audience stands on average at around 8.3 million, though audiences within the past several years have been as high as 13 million. *The Bill* represents a London police station, and follows the actions of a number of its officers, both uniform and detective in the pursuit of a variety of crimes, from the mundane to murder investigations.

4 *Can't Cook Won't Cook*

Can't Cook Won't Cook is a combination of a game programme, with a host, contestants and prizes, and a cookery programme with a chef, recipes and kitchens. It is shown on BBC 1 during the daytime at varying times, the sample is taken from a morning showing (10:00-10:30) while the programme is currently (August 1999) shown at 14:55. Audience figures are not available as they fall short of the top 30 BBC 1 programmes available on the Broadcasters Audience Research Board (BARB) web site. This indicates that the audience for *Can't Cook Won't Cook* is under 3 million.

5 *BBC Breakfast News*

This programme is the BBC 1's early morning news show, on weekday mornings from 07:00 - 09:00. It has audience figures of around 1 - 1.1 million per day, which is less than its ITV rival *GMTV* but more than the Channel 4's breakfast show *The Big Breakfast.* The programme combines live studio presentations of the national and local news, weather and magazine sections, filmed reports and live outside broadcasts.

There are two main represented participants who act as the host of the programme, a man and woman and a number of others with subsidiary roles.

6 *Channel 5 News* (Main news programme)

Channel 5 News is its main news bulletin, though shorter news reports are broadcast during the day. At the time the text used here for analysis was recorded, *Channel 5 News* was shown on weekday evenings between 18:30 - 19:00, the programme had been moved to 18:00 to 18:30, but is now shown at 17:30 to 18:00 and has been renamed *five News.* It is produced by ITN for Channel 5 and has an audience of around 0.7 million. There is one main news presenter.

Selection and sampling of extracts for analysis

The methodological emphasis in this thesis is not on a statistically representative sample, rather it is on a purposive sample, selected as appropriate to the research

questions to be addressed, and small scale in recognition of the detailed nature of analysis. The study of realism in television texts requires a qualitative approach as the study of realism as I have constituted it is not amenable to quantitative analysis but rather, requires precise qualitative description and analysis. For this purpose, the length of the samples used for analysis are between 2 minutes 20 seconds to 3 minutes. The types of questions addressed and aim of this thesis called for an examination of data in depth rather then breadth. For this reason two sequences from each programme have been transcribed and analysed.

In each of the descriptions, with the exception of *Mersey Blues*, the first sequence is taken from the beginning of the programme. This was done firstly as the opening of a programme establishes its realism and is therefore a useful sequence for the opening description, secondly it is the starting point for a scene and thirdly focusing on the beginning of each text in the sequences establishes a common point for analysis. In the case of *Mersey Blues* the beginning of the programme is dominated by footage from security cameras and therefore not representative of the text's realism as a whole as it included no camera movement. The second sequence used in the descriptions was chosen for the purpose of demonstrating further specific features of the producers' use of the camera in constructing realism such as particular kinds of camera movement or editing and as representative of the realism of the text as a whole. For example, the second sequence from *Homicide: Life on the Street* was chosen as it includes an extended shot with considerable camera movement and variation in camera stability. Such a sequence typifies the construction of realism within the text as a whole. These

features were identified through preliminary analysis of the use of semiotic resources and extensive viewing of the sample texts.

5.3 TRANSCRIPTION

This section will detail the process by which categories were developed for the analysis of the samples and the procedure for their transcription. I will also demonstrate how through several different forms of transcription, analytical categories were refined until the final form of transcription was developed for the analysis of realism. I draw on the work of the socio-linguist Ochs (1977), and the anthropological linguist Tedlock (1983) to discuss a theory of transcription, and use the television transcription of Heath and Skirrow (1977) as a comparative example.

The means by which the research questions are to be answered is through the analysis of the sequences from the texts discussed above. This process of analysis requires the selection and scrutiny of those aspects of the samples that are most relevant to the inquiry. This involves the production of analytical categories that will be used to conduct that inquiry. These categories were developed through the scrutiny of television texts, with particular regard for the potential of semiotic modes to construct realisms. The use of the camera, as one resource, was chosen because of the contrasting use of camera movement, position and stability in different texts both within and between genres. These differences could then be related to the theory described in this thesis as aspects of the construction of the realism in a television text. The process of transcription

further sharpened the categorisation of the camera's resources through the need for precision and clarity. The samples in question are composed of visual and aural modes, and for the purpose of their analysis and appropriation as material in a thesis, the samples of the texts need to be translated from the visual or aural into the written form. Though the inclusion of the samples on videotape goes some way to ensuring that the "fullness" of the texts as multi-modal constructions can be appreciated.

Ochs (1979), working in the area of language acquisition and culture, considers a transcription as "a selective process reflecting theoretical goals and definitions." Tedlock (1983) discusses the difficulties of translating the style of one language as well as the content into another language. While others (such as Boas, 1940) consider it impossible to achieve this, Tedlock believes it is vital in the process of translation and transcription. In this thesis I have attempted to translate and transcribe aspects of the visual mode into a written form. While there exists a well-developed means of transcribing the sounds of speech into writing, and there are visual forms of speech such as sign language, no accepted system exists for the transcription of visual forms such as those used in television into a specific kind of written text[2].

Ochs (Ibid, 47) also draws attention to the format of any transcription as culturally situated and how the spatial composition of a transcription affects its reading and interpretation:

[2] Though, Martinec (2001) has developed a notational system for discussing the actions of represented participants on the screen.

> ....the format of a transcript influences the interpretation process carried out by the reader/researcher.

For the purpose of demonstrating the development of analytical categories and the resulting process of transcription I will discuss the two forms of transcription that preceded the final form that is used in the transcriptions for this project. Each transcript represents different interests in considering the text, different questions are being "asked" of the text and therefore the form of the transcript is suited specifically to rendering those interests visible for the purpose of analysis. The transcriptions offered here are taken from the same text and the same scene from an episode of *The Bill* (programme details above).

Heath and Skirrow (1977) made a transcription of the current affairs programme *World in Action* and it is useful to draw a comparison between their method and my own. Heath and Skirrow broke their text into 4 sections (Prologue, The past, The present and Epilogue). The length of each section is given at the top and below that the page is divided between into columns, from left to right: *Shot, Time, Description, Dialogue and commentary.* Time refers to the length of the shot and the shots are numbered from the start of the text. Under *Description* is given an account of the image that includes the distance/frame using the industry standard abbreviations (as discussed below); the angle of shot if it is different from straight on, recorded as high or low; camera movement is given in filmic terms such as pan, tilt, track; the point of view of the shot may be given. In the column under *Dialogue and commentary* the verbal element of the text is recorded with the represented participant speaking indicated, and if they are not

visually represented by the addition of the term "off" (as in off screen). The spatial relations between participants are indicated when there is a group shot, and also more generally in the transcription the direction that represented participants are facing. The change of shot is indicated by a gap of one line across the columns.

Heath and Skirrow's method of transcription is similar in some respects to the transcription I produced in the second initial transcript reproduced below, as it was based quite closely on the conventions of a television script (Fraser, 1990): the placing of the image description on the left and verbal description on the right, and the use of industry terminology. However in the final form of transcription used in this thesis there are a number of differences. In my final transcription the verbal element of the text has not been included while Heath and Skirrow do not include a description of camera stability in shots. Heath and Skirrow have focused on one programme as a text, and divided it into sections for the purpose of their analysis, whereas I have taken two samples from 6 different texts. Their analysis focused on a technical level as they saw television as composed of a "single coherent language" (Ibid, 10) and were very clear that their work should not be confused with that of other methods:

> ....it should be stressed that no attempt will be made to deal with the level of 'social connotations' so constantly and laboriously the preoccupation of cultural studies. (Ibid, 13)

Initial transcription categories

The development of my transcription process as demonstrated here in the following three excerpts indicates how the focus of the transcription changed as the specific modes to be investigated in relation to realism changed. The final form of transcript contains information relevant to an analysis of the use of the camera in relation to represented participants, as the descriptive categories developed for this purpose and discussed below demonstrate.

The first method of transcription, used in an initial "pilot study" of the transcription of a sample from a television text for the purposes of ideological analysis, recorded the speech of represented participants and brief descriptions of the circumstances and of the camera position. The transcript was divided into numbered scenes and laid out in a single column. The theoretical basis for the proposed analysis here was that the ideology of the text was represented solely in the linguistic discourse or speech "content". Therefore the categories for analysis were primarily who was speaking, where and when within the narrative of the text. An example of this form of transcription is given below:

4 Two uniformed police officers get out of police car and walk towards and then into a corner shop, several people standing outside. Cut. Inside the shop

Woman Police Sergeant: " Oh, Mister Lemans?"

Police Constable: " Hello?"

Shopkeeper enters shop from back room and looks at police.

Lemans: "In here, good"

WPS: "You reported a robbery?"

Cut: Lemans.

Lemans: " Yeah, some lads threatened me with a baseball bat and emptied the till."

PC: "How many?

Lemans: "Two, one black, one white. Teenagers, the white lad's got one of those flashy designer tee-shirts."

Cut: WPS and PC

WPS: "are you sure one was black and one was white?"

Cut Lemans

Lemans: "I do know the difference"

Cut: WPS and PC

PC: " Can you give us a full description of the lad's please?"

The second method refined the analytical categories and methods of transcription used in the development of this thesis with a shift of interest from content defined as the spoken discourse of the text to content as the semiotic modes of image and language that texts are constructed from. In this transcription process the categories were very broadly defined as the "verbal mode" and the "visual mode" and recorded as separate entities. The format used here was derived from the layout of television scripts, taken from Fraser (op. cit.). This divided a page into two sections with the verbal element, recorded in the form of a script with the name of the speaking character followed by their dialogue, on the right side and on the left the camera distance/framing in the industry format (discussed below) and the actions of the characters. A line from one side of the page to the other indicated a change in shot, marking precisely where the cut occurred in relation to

the visual and verbal elements. The shots themselves were not numbered, rather the "scenes" were numbered and marked as distinct from shots using double lines:

4	
LS of two uniformed police officers, they get out of police car and walk towards and then into a corner shop, several people standing outside.	
Inside the shop, MS of police officers as they walk in.	
	WPS: " Oh, Mister Lemans?"
	PC: " Hello?"
Shopkeeper enters shop from back room and looks at police.	
	Lemans: "In here, good"
	WPS: "You reported a robbery?"

	Lemans: " Yeah, some lads threatened me with a baseball bat and emptied the till."
	PC: "How many?
	Lemans: "Two, one black, one white. Teenagers, the white lad's got one of those flashy designer tee-shirts." /
MS WPS and PC	
	WPS: "are you sure one was black and one was white?" /
MS Lemans	
	Lemans: "I do know the difference" /
MS WPS and PC	
	PC: "Can you give us a full

description of the lads please?" /

Final transcription categories

The final form of transcription involved much more detailed categories for the transcription of the samples. This resulted from the development of clear research questions that specified the mode or resource that was to be examined in relation to realism: the use of the camera. In this process I have used terminology and categories derived from film theory and television production.

As this thesis is concerned with the specific signs of the image produced by the camera and relations between images, the shot makes a precise division for the description of images rather than a larger unit or one determined by aspects of the "content" of the text such as features of the narrative. The transcription categories, which are applied to the descriptive units, are drawn from the close examination of the data itself and the theoretical approach, to meet the requirements of an analysis of television realism. While no mode is understood or produced in isolation, but always in the complex of modes that is a text, for the purposes of analysis the transcription categories of a semiotic resource used in the television text must be as clear and unambiguous as possible. The categories should therefore be distinct and not overlap. The categories must delimit an aspect of the text that can then be considered and analysed in terms of the semiotic theory and conception of realism outlined in Chapters 3 and 4.

From my consideration of the television text and the theoretical work concerned with the film image, particularly the perceptual approach of Burch (1973) and Bordwell (1977, 1985) the use of the camera and the resulting image is a crucial area for analysis. The motivations of the producers of texts as evidenced in their use of the camera and the generic conventions of camera use play a central role in the construction of realism in a text. This is not to deny the importance of other resources in the construction of realism such as sound, lighting, the performance of represented participants, and the circumstances and processes that are represented. However, constraints on the production of this thesis entail that only one set resources may be examined in sufficient detail to demonstrate the potential of my reconceptualisation of television realism.

Within the descriptions of units and in their analysis, I will use 3 categories of the use of the camera: position, stability and movement and also record the duration of the each shot. While these categories are by no means exhaustive of the potential of the camera, other aspects such as focus and lens type are important, they do provide a basis for its examination.

Position

The position of the camera is recorded in terms of its distance from the represented participants, and also its position with respect to represented participants in the horizontal and vertical planes.

The distance of the camera in relation to the represented participants is recorded in the description data for each shot by the standard terms for shot sizes as used in the television industry (Watts, 1984, 128; Millerson, 1999, 99) and these are, from least to greatest distance:

BCU Big Close-up

CU Close-up

MCU Medium Close-up

MS Mid-shot

MLS Medium Long Shot

LS Long Shot

ELS Extreme Long Shot

These terms do not have precise values for the distance between camera and represented participant, but rather indicate distance by the size of represented participants relative to the frame of the image. Presented below is a pictorial representation of shot distances:

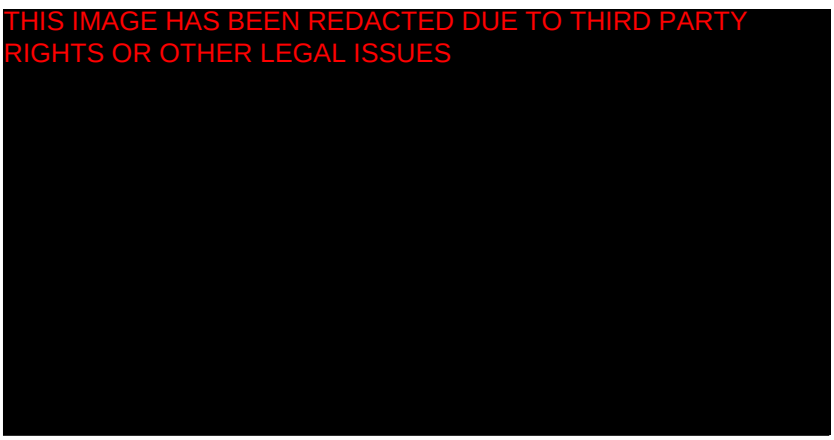

Figure 2. Shot distance. (Millerson, Idem)

Other aspects of the camera's position in relation to the represented participants that are recorded in descriptions are as follows:

a) the position of the camera on a vertical axis: whether the viewer is positioned as if looking up at represented participants, down at them or at the same level.

b) The horizontal placement of the camera in relation to represented participants.

c) If the camera is positioned so that the "horizon" of the image is tilted to one side or the other then this is recorded in the description as "cant to left" or "cant to right"

d) The angles that these shots take are recorded in degrees, in general stages between zero degrees which is a level camera position and plus or minus 90 degrees which would be respectively the camera directly up, and directly down. The stages are 22°, 45° and 67° up and down, though these are approximate readings of the camera angle, there being some difficulty in recording the precise angle from a television image.

Stability

The stability of each shot and changes in stability within a shot are recorded in the sample text transcriptions. A distinction is made in this project between camera movement and stability, as has been outlined in section 4.4 above. The

categories of stability used in the transcriptions of television texts are based on the extent and frequency of camera jolts within a shot:

Very slight or **slight unsteadiness** in an image would be a single or small number of jolts that move the camera only a matter of a couple of degrees from its centre point. An **unstable** image would have more frequent jolts and of a greater magnitude. A **very unstable** image would have an almost constant series of jolts of a considerable degree.

Movement

The movement of the camera is recorded in the descriptions in relation to the represented participants or their circumstances. This is necessary to encode in the data whether the camera's movement is dependent or independent of the movement of represented participants. Also, without reference to some object in the image there would be nothing to indicate the movement of the camera at all. As has been indicated above in the section on stability, movement is distinguished from stability, which is itself a form of camera movement. Movement of the camera is classified as the sustained movement of the camera in one direction and from one point to another, though it may take place in more than one plane, such as left and up. The stability of the camera refers to undirected movement around a centre point. In the process of describing camera movement a number of different forms need to be taken into account:

a) Movement of the camera to the left or right from a fixed point. This is traditionally called "the pan" in the film industry and in film and television studies. In the transcription here it is described in the data as "camera to right" or "camera to left".

b) Movement of the camera as a whole to the left or right. This is traditionally termed move or crab. Here the description used is similar, "camera moves to right" or "camera moves to left".

c) Movement of the camera that brings it closer to or farther away from represented participants or other objects. The terms I have used here are close to those found in the film and television industries themselves: "camera moves in to" or "camera moves out to".

d) Movement of the camera head up and down, while the "body" stays in the same position: known as the tilt; in these descriptions such movements is described as "camera up to" or "camera down to"

e) Movement of the whole camera up or down. The descriptions use the terms "camera moves up" or "camera moves down".

The process of transcribing a television text for the purpose of analysing realism needs to record the data within a temporal framework. Firstly, the length of each shot is recorded, then occurrences within the descriptive categories of position, movement and stability are recorded within each shot, transcribed in the temporal

sequence in which they occur in the sample. However, the time taken for movements or changes in stability are not differentiated by precise timings, but are recorded in the descriptions according to their sequence in the shot. Movements of the camera that combine directions simultaneously are recorded as "left and up " for when the camera moves up and to the left at the same time. Whereas if the movements are conducted sequentially they are recorded as "camera left then up".

The format of transcription I have used here follows the convention in western culture that events in a temporal sequence are recorded from the top down, therefore a camera movement, position or state of stability recorded in the transcription below a previous movement, position or state indicates that it occurs later in the shot. I have however used an exception to this in the form of statements of the overall stability of a shot.

The use of the camera in the past tended to require a fixed point and a movable camera head, whereas the use of the smaller hand held camera has blurred what it means for the camera to pan, as it is not attached to a tripod or dolly and therefore the whole camera always moves. It is in order to move away from these distinctions that the description here does not use the traditional terms to refer to "traditional" forms of movement, but is rather based on the kinds of movement that are evidenced in the sequences that are transcribed and analysed.

An excerpt from the actual, and final, form of transcription is given below, it demonstrates the expansion of the camera description to include the categories I

have outlined above, as well as the division of the transcript according to numbered shots, with their length recorded in seconds.

Shot 1

4 Seconds.

LS of police car, in background a WPC closes car door; in foreground PC comes into shot from right and walks to left.

WPC to left.

Camera turns to left then stops.

WPC walks to door of shop, PC walks around front of car door and forward to shop door.

Shot 2

20 Seconds.

Camera down (>45°) facing floor of shop.

Camera back and up to MS of WPC and PC walking right to shop counter.

Camera turns to right with officers until it reaches shop keeper,

who moves left behind counter.

Camera moves left then right and forward to MCU of shopkeeper,

Then down slightly as shopkeeper bends over, then up as he straightens

Shot 3

5 Seconds.

MCU of WPC on left and PC on right behind her.

Both looking right. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 4

1 second

MCU of shopkeeper. No movement.

Shot 5

2 seconds.

MCU of WPC on left and PC on right behind her.

Both looking right. Slight unsteadiness.

Units of analysis

The division of the transcription into shots became important as the shot began to be used as a unit of analysis in the examination of realism and as a means of recording the location of specific features within the data. It is furthermore a unit commonly used in the production process itself, for example in the form of story boards and the "shooting schedule", where shots may be extensively planned before anything is actually recorded or broadcast (Millerson, 1999, 410). The shot is therefore useful in the process of transcription as a unit that is on the

whole, and with the aid of an editing machine, clearly defined with unambiguous boundaries.

My analysis of television realism concentrates on a comparison of different texts and different genres, and to achieve this, it is concerned with relations between shots, and not with relations within a shot. I have not recorded in the transcription of shots a precise temporal division of the movement, position or stability of the camera. That is, the time taken for a specific movement to take place or for how long in a shot a certain kind of stability is maintained. Distinctions between position, stability or movement within a shot have been generalised. It is then, I think, more straightforward to consider the characteristics of one shot in terms of the resemblance or difference to shots in the same or other texts. This may then be taken as evidence of a commonality or contrast in how realism is constructed in the texts.

While the shot functions as a unit of analysis in itself and its relations with other shots are signifiers, it also contains further aspects of analysis recorded in the transcription as the analytical categories of position, stability and movement. These categories may be said to be on another transcription level than the shot itself, they are a part of the shot and for the purposes of the transcription are "contained" with shots.

Transcribing the data

The transcription of relevant information concerning each shot in the sample was undertaken using the specific categories outlined above, and using a VHS video editing suite. The precise movement and instability of the camera and shot lengths could be recorded as the image was slowed down to around one frame per second rather than the 24 that makes up the usual viewing speed.

I began the process of analysis by adopting the format of the television industry that is used prior to the recording of a text, in the production process the written mode in the form of a script of some kind is translated into a text composed of the visual and verbal/aural modes. In my transcription I reconstructed the text from its broadcast version by transforming criterial aspects of it into a written form. As a thesis is a text that must be composed of written signs, this inter-modal translation is necessary. I believe that it is possible to use a written translation of visual signs as evidence in my argument for a reconceptualisation of realism, although a written text must be highly selective and a necessarily reductive transcription of a visual text. In order to address this issue to some extent I have included a videotape containing the samples from texts with the written thesis.

In the transcription of the samples from specific television texts, I have dealt with the descriptive categories separately and have broken the shot up into elements that are continuous in the viewing/reading of the text. This is necessary in order to clarify the precise use of the camera within the categories I have established. The process of transcription is not therefore the same as the process of viewing/reading, and it does not attempt to replicate that process. In order to understand the construction of realism in a television text, the television text is

subject to the exposition of its structure, which while understood and made meaningful by the viewer/reader may not be acknowledged or articulated as openly as the taken for granted "content" of the text.

5.4 ANALYSIS

The texts are analysed in two chapters. Chapter 6 deals with texts concerned with the theme of the police: the documentary *Mersey Blues* and the two drama texts *Homicide: Life on the Street* and *The Bill*. Chapter 7 considers texts that are based in a studio: the news programmes *BBC Breakfast News*, *Channel 5 News* and the game/quiz programme *Can't Cook Won't Cook*. The empirical sections of this thesis are not intended to offer a full analysis of particular television texts. Rather the purpose is to use representative extracts as examples that demonstrate the validity of specific aspects of the reconceptualisation of television realism as laid out in the theoretical chapters.

The analysis of realism in the extracts from the television texts is undertaken through the use of the transcription categories, these are specific groups of representational resources outlined above (Position, stability, movement, continuity and duration). Drawing from film and visual studies I use a number of analytical concepts to identify salient aspects of the use of representational resources in the textual materials. These have been discussed above in Chapter 4 and include, for example, anthropomorphism (the position or movement of the camera that is consistent with human position or movement), the horizontal

(involvement) and vertical (power) axes of position, movement of the camera that is dependent or independent of represented participants.

The analytical concepts are used to provide a basis for a semiotic analysis of realism, and how specific representational resources are used in the construction of represented worlds. The key questions for the semiotic analysis of realism are those that I have considered in the section on sign production in Chapter 3. That is to uncover and provide an explanation for the interest of the producer in choosing a specific signifier; the effect of the social environment that the production of the sign takes place in; the kind or genre of social occasion that is being represented and the producers' conception of the audience for the text. These factors are central to the meaning of the text and as to how the world of the text is presented to the audience.

The analysis, by focusing on these choices, seeks to explain how the text is represented as involving the viewer/reader in a particular way and therefore also the specific kinds of relationships between the world of the text and the audience that the realism represents. The table below lists the general category of semiotic resources that are considered in the texts with the corresponding transcription categories that have been used to produce the data and the relevant analytical concepts that are a basis for the semiotic analysis.

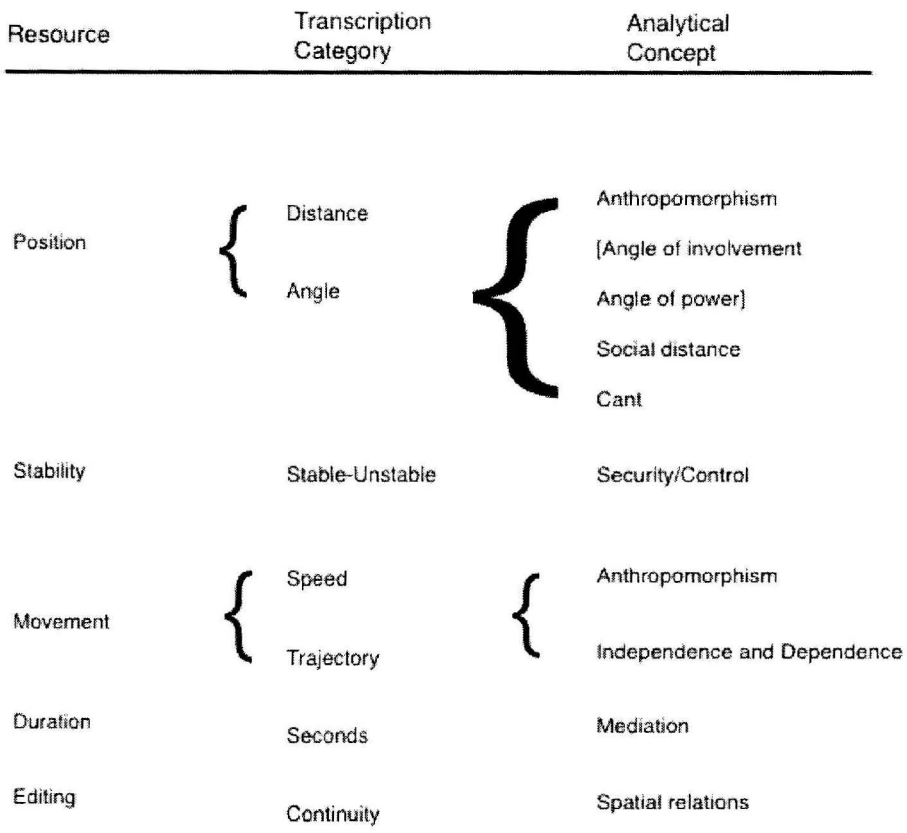

Figure 3. Analysis Chart.

As examples of how the analysis proceeds, I will briefly discuss the categories of camera distance and independent and dependent camera movement. The extent to which a shot represents participants at close up or a greater distance is recorded in the transcription using the standard terms for shot framing (as above: CU, MCU, MS etc.) and analysed in terms of meanings derived from social life:

closeness indicating some level of intimacy and subjectivity whereas distance indicates unfamiliarity and objectivity. Therefore where I have recorded proximity between camera and represented participant in the transcription (a close up), I consider this as the representation of intimacy between the viewer/reader and the "world" of the text, an intimacy that is mostly depicted as a feature of circumstances where the producers are able to control the depicted events, such as in a dramatic text. The analysis therefore identifies such closeness as one means of creating a represented world where the viewer/reader is expected to become involved with the represented participants in a potentially emotional and subjective manner.

As a further example, where camera movement is recorded in the text as taking place in a different direction from represented participants, or moving while they are not, I have classified the camera movement as independent. When the transcription indicates that the camera follows the represented participants, the movement is dependent. As the theory in chapter 4 on camera movement suggests, movement that is mostly dependent on represented participants may signify a degree of planning and co-operation between represented participants whereas independent movement represents an environment that has less formal and controlled relations between the camera (and by implication the viewer/reader) and those being represented. In terms of the contribution to the realism constructed in the text, the producers of a text may use independent movement as a way to represent the viewer/reader as if they were objective witnesses to the depicted events.

The manner in which specific shots are referred to in the analyses is as follows: the particular transcript for the extract from a text is either **T**1 or **T**2; and individual shots are **S**1 for shot one, **S**2 for shot two and so forth. Therefore the 5th shot in the second transcript of an extract from a text would be referred to as **T**2 **S**5.

5.5 CONCLUSION

The production of a methodology for the analysis of television realism has entailed the integration of a theoretical background drawn from semiotics and the consideration of some of the practical resources used in television production. This was facilitated through the transcription of the extracts, using categories drawn from the specific resources that have been identified, and the analytical concepts associated with them.

The process of transcription has demonstrated that its format is crucial to the process of analysis and I have shown how the transcription changed as the analysis became increasingly focused on certain specific semiotic forms. The analysis depends upon the accurate recording of forms to ensure a clear and precise connection between the realisation of a signifier in the visual text and my written commentary in this linguistic text. The actions of mediating between modes in this way is itself illuminating, as it reveals the complexity and problematics of multimodal analysis. In this case, it is only through the precise categorisation and comparison of visual signifiers in written language that an accurate investigation is possible.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS PART ONE: The Police in Documentary and Drama

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I undertake an analysis of extracts from three texts that share the theme of the Police. The texts are the documentary *Mersey Blues*, the British drama series *The Bill* and the US drama series *Homicide: Life on the Street*. The analysis of each text in both chapters uses the categories I have discussed in the preceding methodology chapter: Position (including the sub-categories of anthropomorphism, distance and cant), Stability, Movement (including the sub-categories of anthropomorphism and independence and dependence), Continuity and Duration. As I have also discussed above, I refer to specific shots in all analyses according to the format **T**1 or **T**2 for which extract the shot is from, followed by **S**X, where X is the number of the shot within the extract.

6.2 MERSEY BLUES

In the analysis of this programme I shall consider the transcription from the documentary programme Mersey *Blues*.

Position

Position/Anthropomorphism

Anthropomorphic positions are used almost exclusively throughout the text, as the camera is consistently "embodied" by being held by a camera operator. However, there are several shots where the camera's position differs slightly from

the anthropomorphic. In **T**1 **S**17 the camera points up to the Detective Sergeant from a position at waist height. The low level of the camera in the crowded area of the night club may signify that camera is concealed or that the operator was unable to carry it in the normal way. In **T**1 **S**29 the camera is positioned on the passenger seat of a police car, recording a police officer as he leaves the car. The position represents the viewer/reader as if they were "with" the police even in circumstances where operating the camera may be relatively difficult or space is limited.

The use of the camera in first sequence of the first extract, **T**1 **S**1 to **S**4, maintains positions that are commensurate with those of an actual observer, on a level with the represented participants, with some slight shifts in vertical position (down in **S**1 and up in **S**4). The entire sequence in **T**2 **S**1 to **S**4 also maintains anthropomorphic camera positions as the camera operator moves through the suspect's house with the police officers. Each shot represents the camera and operator following principally the detective sergeant or other officers, moving from the police car to the house and up and down the stairs.

The use of anthropomorphic positions in *Mersey blues* is a key aspect of the representation of the text as the observation of events that are real and unstaged. The "human" positioning of the camera, combined with its movement and stability, position the viewer as if they were present, in a manner that signifies everyday experience of the world as the points of view are those taken up by a person present: the camera operator. The use by producers of the text of consistent anthropomorphic positions contributes to the construction of the

represented world as beyond their controlling influence. The producers do not appear to be using positions that interfere with the represented participants or their environment, but rather present themselves as if just recording what is occurring.

The use of anthropmorphic positions is also a sign of the producers' interest in representing a particular social discourse as open to the public. In this case, the Police themselves may wish to be represented as "having nothing to hide" from the public. Anthropomorphic positions are therefore one resource in the process of legitimating discourse and constructing social relations in which the viewer is not addressed by an authoritative institution, but is represented as being able to "see for themselves."

Position/Distance

In the shots **T**1 **S**1 to **S**5 the camera does not get in to a close up with the represented participants, a Detective Inspector and Detective Chief Inspector. The first close-up is that of a pair of policemen's hands loading bullets into a clip (**T**1 **S**6 and **S**7). Here the proximity of the shot may be seen as necessary to show the loading the clip and since the policemen are preparing to go on duty and are not in action, the proximity of the camera does not interfere with the action of the police. The following shot, (**T**1 **S**8) continues the preparation of the armed policemen, but at a distance (MLS) that allows their environment to be signified; a police car in an enclosed car park along with their actions of priming their weapons.

The sequence of shots of a night club and young people dancing in **T**1 **S**9 to **S**16 and **T**1 **S**20 to **S**29, uses medium distances (medium close up and mid shot). Here the viewer is not asked to enter into an intimate or close relationship with the represented participants, not to become too involved. The use of the camera in the second extract is similar, in that the camera does not approach represented participants in order to get shots closer than medium close up or mid-shot.

The use of medium and long shots with few close ups in *Mersey Blues* represents the world of the text as being held at an impersonal rather than intimate distance. The lack of intimacy is a means for the producers of the text to signify an aspect of the process of observation: that the producers of the text are simply recording events rather than intervening in or directing them. Closer distances would represent greater physical involvement in what was going on. Distance is used therefore as a signifier for objectivity: the producers signify that they themselves and by implication the viewer are not intimate with any of the police officers and as such are representing the text as an unbiased view of what is happening. The producers are also seeking to represent the Merseyside force as a group of people rather than from the perspective of individual police officers, therefore all the main represented participants are represented at the same medium distance from the camera.

Position/Cant

The horizontal level of the frame in shots (or cant of the image) varies in *Mersey Blues*. While the horizon is level in the first extract, there is considerable cant in the first two shots of the second extract **T**2 **S**1 and **S**2 where the camera is being moved rapidly as the operator follows the police. The cant in these images is a consequence of the rapid movement of the camera and operator as they follow the police raid on the house, and not a specific set up of the camera. The tilting of the horizon of the image does operate in these circumstances as a signifier of a represented world where events and represented participants are acting away from the norm.

Stability

The stability of the camera in producing an image in *Mersey Blues* varies from the stable to the very unstable. In the first extract the images of the police in the offices of the police station (**T**1 **S**1 to **T**1 **S**4) indicate only slight unsteadiness. The use of a hand held camera in these circumstances and the resulting instability represents a choice by the text's producers to construct the world of the text as one where the observer is able to respond to events, quickly and easily. The instability signifies an unsettled and unfixed form of observation that is capable of moving, of changing position, even at a moment's notice. The world is represented as one where rapid changes in circumstance are possible and therefore as a less secure environment than one that is represented with greater stability. The use of a particular technology, the hand held camera, affords the producers the potential to signify the world of the text as dynamic and unpredictable.

The images **T**1 **S** 9 to **S**16 and **T**1 **S**20 to **S**26 are stable. These shots are not depicting particular or specific events and represented participants but rather serve to illustrate an aspect of the focus of the police investigation: nightclubs. Since they are non-specific and act as general signs of young people dancing in a club, unaware of the investigation going on around them, the depicted relationships through the use of camera stability are shown as stable. The represented participants are not being observed and recorded in the manner that the police officers are but rather are used as symbols in a classificational image (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996).

T1 **S**30 returns to the police operation outside of a nightclub in the centre of Liverpool and is slightly unsteady though not substantially. In **T**1 **S**32, the camera moves around the Detective Inspector and Detective Sergeant and is unsteady doing so. Unstable movement such as this is one resource for representing a particular authenticity. By defying the conventions of traditional television texts, where stability of the image represents an aspect of the broadcasting institution's professionalism, the text is represented as "raw" and consequently less mediated (Nichols, 1981, 43).

In the second extract there is very unsteady movement, when at times it appears as if the camera operator might lose control of the camera altogether. The shot **T**2 **S**1 lasts for over a minute and consists of the camera operator following a police raid on a house where the occupants are suspected of harbouring drugs and firearms. The shot begins in a car with the detectives, before they begin the

charge into the house. Getting out of the car while recording and having to do this very quickly presents some difficulties for the operator and at this point the camera becomes very unsteady, before the operator is able to follow the police at a run. The great instability of the camera here directly translates (from) the physical actions of the operator and the extreme conditions of the events being recorded. At this point the world of the text is indeed uncertain and possibly dangerous. The camera operator is represented as recording events as closely as possible without getting in the way of the officers doing their job. This is signified using sharp and uncertain movement by the camera and an absence of stability. As the police officers enter the house the operator follows the police at speed as they search the property. In **T**2 **S** 2 the camera is similarly unsteady. Although the initial rush to enter the house is over, the camera and its operator follow DS Kelly as he moves from the top to the ground floor, moving at speed down stairs the image is very unstable.

The shot **T**2 **S**3 has a more stable use of the camera as the situation of represented participants and their actions appear more settled and calm. In **T**2 **S**4 the camera is unsteady to some extent while the represented participants are stationary. In this case, as before, relationships and outcomes are represented as not fully secure and the producers signify this through a lack of stability.

Movement

In this section I will consider the movement of the camera in terms of anthropomorphism and the dependence and independence of the movement.

Movement/Anthropomorphism

The exclusive use of a hand held camera by the producers of *Mersey Blues* represents the movement of the viewing position as consistently anthropomorphic. In the shot **T**1 **S**1, the camera's movement precedes the represented participant, the camera operator moving backwards down a corridor in order to do so. The movement keeps the orientation of the camera as facing the represented participant.

The shot **T**1 **S**5 involves movement that follows the actions of armed policemen as they prepare for an operation. The movement here consists of 10 relatively small movements within the shot that represents the preparations of the policemen. The use of such movement by the producers represents the recording of the action as unscripted as it requires frequent shifts of the camera to capture certain of the policemen's actions. Here, the producers use the movement to represent spontaneous and unrehearsed recording where the camera operator is constructed as reacting to the represented participants rather than them acting to the camera. Further examples of this kind of movement occur in the shot **T**1 **S**7 with vertical movement that follows a policeman's hands and in **T**1 **S**8, where the camera moves both vertically and horizontally to follow the actions of the policemen preparing their weapons.

The shots **T**1 **S**9 to **S**16 and **T**1 **S**20 to **S**26 have no movement at all, in contrast to the other shots in this sequence. The lack of movement here acts in

conjunction with the other signifiers in this sequence that I have discussed above which represent these images as classificational rather than the representation of specific represented participants: the camera is not following these represented participants. By not using movement to follow individuals, the producers signify that the represented participants' importance does not go beyond the fact that they represent "people in a night club". The shot **T**1 **S**27 by contrast does use some camera movement in the environment of the nightclub. As the final shot from the night club sequence its movement may represent a connection between the action of represented participants in the club and the following sequence where the camera moves to follow the police in the street.

In the shot **T**2 **S**1 the movement of the camera is swift and appears haphazard as the camera operator moves with the police to the suspect's house. In this sequence, unlike **T**1 **S**1, the movement of the camera operator follows the police from behind. The use of the hand held camera by the producers of the text allows the representation of the policemen's actions as immediate, the operator is in their close physical presence as they move inside the house. The movement of the camera is anthropomorphic, as it closely follows the movement of the police themselves. The camera swings to the right to show or "look" inside the front room. Then the operator moves hurriedly upstairs and again the operator quickly moves the camera so as to see the inside of rooms off the stairway. The camera operator then continues, pointing the camera down as a policeman comes up the stairs.

The shot **T2 S2** continues from the same room in which shot **T2 S1** ends, though the occupants have changed. The camera now follows DS Kelly from behind as he leaves the room and moves quickly downstairs. The camera operator tries to catch up with him, as he is the officer in charge of the raid and has already been identified in the programme and therefore familiar to the audience, and moves quickly. The camera operator moves sharply and quickly at the stair landings before reaching DS Kelly on the first floor where the operator slows down and moves more slowly and confidently. Here the swiftness of the camera movement is used by the text's producers to signify the pace of the operation, the urgency with which the officers check the house and also represents the environment as chaotic and unpredictable. The anthropomorphic movement afforded by the hand held camera is a key aspect of this. The operations of the police are represented on a human level, from the point of view of an actual participant. A clear example of this is the manner in which the operator represents the interest of the policemen to check who is in the house, by replicating their movement by moving the camera so that brief images of the rooms are shown.

Movement/Independence and Dependence

The movement of the camera in relation to represented participants, the extent to which the movement depends upon or follows them, is a meaningful resource in the construction of realisms. The producers of *Mersey Blues* use both independent and dependent camera movement.

The shot **T**1 **S**1 uses dependent movement that maintains a point of view facing the represented participant. As he walks down the corridor the camera moves in front of him. The producer's consistent position and movement of the camera with respect to the represented participant signifies the process of observation, and may be considered in relation to Branigan's (op. cit.) notion of objectivity. The position of the camera facing towards the represented participant while moving suggests that the producers of the text are taking a different view from that of the represented participant. Such a point of view is represented as that of an observer and not that of the subjects of the text.

The sequence **T**1 **S**17 to **S**19 follows the Detective Sergeant as he moves through a night club crowd. In each shot the camera moves following the movement of the Detective Sergeant, the movement is dependent. As I have discussed above, in the section on camera position, the position of the camera in this sequence suggests that it has been concealed. The dependent movement and position of the camera, facing the Detective Sergeant's side and back, represents the viewer/reader as being "with" the policeman, as if they were included in and participating in the operation.

Dependent movement is also used extensively in **T**2 **S**1, **S**2 and **S**3. Here, as with the sequence **T**1 **S**17 to **S**19, the producers use dependent movement and an orientation of the camera that is facing the back or side of the police officers to represent the viewer/reader as if they were participating alongside the police as they raid the house of a suspect. The use of anthropomorphic movement that mimics that of police officers, discussed above, as well as the dependent

movement constructs the viewer/reader as if they were "joining in" with the police. The position of the camera in this shot, as one that corresponds with that of the police themselves signifies a more "subjective" image; the point of view (and by implication the viewer/reader) is moved and positioned as if it were that of an active participant and not merely a detached observer of events. This provides a clear contrast with the movement and position in **T** 1 **S**1 where the camera's movement, though also dependent, is orientated in an opposite direction: facing the represented participant.

The use of independent movement signifies a detached relationship between the producers (and hence the viewer/reader) and represented participants. In **T**1 **S**32 the represented participants, the detective inspector and detective sergeant, remain stationary while the camera moves around them. Here, the use of the camera switches to represent this part of the text more as observation than participation. The camera operator is represented as if freely choosing movement and positions. The shot **T**2 **S**4 also makes use of slight independent movement while represented participants are stationary, in this case the police and the suspect.

In conjunction with the other semiotic resources I have discussed here, the dependency of camera movement contributes to the representation of the text as the recording of unstaged "real" events, positioning the viewer/reader as if they were present. The dependency of camera movement is used more specifically, in conjunction with the position of the camera and its orientation to inflect meanings of presence. The meaning of presence at unstaged and real events can therefore

be represented as the active participation in events in the case of certain dependent movement and as detached observation in the case of both some kinds of dependent and independent camera movement, according to the position of the camera.

Continuity

The changing of shots in the first extract maintains the continuity of camera position according to the 180° "rule". For example, in **T**1 **S**1 to **T**1 **S**4, the point of view is kept on the same side of the represented participants (The Detective Inspector and Detective Chief Superintendent) in the environment of the police station. This is also the case with the police officers preparing for action in **T**1 **S**5 to **T**1 **S**8 and with the sequence of images from a concealed camera in **T**1 **S**17 to **T**1 **S**19. While the classificational images are composed of different represented participants, the producers use similar positions, distances, and duration which contribute to their representation of night clubbers as a type rather than as individuals. The use of continuity in this part of the text signifies coherence in the environment and represented participants: the spatial relationships of represented participants are maintained as consistent.

In the second transcription the producers of the text have not used continuity in constructing relationships between shots. The edit between **T**2 **S**1 and **S**2 moves the point of view from the outside of a bedroom in the house into the room and a medium shot of the detective sergeant. In this case there is some time lapse that producers attempt to elide: the occupants of the bedroom change between **T**2 **S**1

and **S**2. In **S**1 the detective sergeant is not present in the bedroom, as viewed from the hall landing, while in **S**2 the initial view is taken from behind him. The similarity of represented participants in **S**1 and **S**2 may have been thought of as enough by the producers so that any difference would be difficult to see.

The continuity from **T**2 **S**2 to **S**3 marks another case where the spatial relations of represented participants are represented as disjointed. **T**2 **S**2 ends with the Detective Sergeant walking towards the kitchen of the suspect's house from the hall, a little way into **T**2 **S**3 he appears from the side of the camera and walks into the hall from the front room, followed by the camera. **T**2 **S**3 ends with camera zooming into the kitchen from the hall, following the detective sergeant as he approaches a suspect and child. In **T**2 **S**4 the point of view has moved to the opposite side of the kitchen from the hall, and therefore crosses the theoretical line running at 180° through the represented participants.

In the second extract from the text, the somewhat disjointed manner in which shots are composed is used by the producers to represent the police raid on the house as being itself somewhat confused and chaotic. The viewer/reader is not given a privileged view of events that is edited for the benefit of a coherent narrative as in the case with some "classic" film drama (Bordwell 1985; Bordwell and Thompson 1993). Rather, the editing of shots **T**2 **S**1 to **S**3 is a further signifier that the viewer/reader is represented as if a witness or even a participant in real events, without clearly presented knowledge of who is where.

Duration

In terms of the duration of shots, the first extract begins with shots of relatively long duration **T**1 **S**1 is 17 seconds, **S**2 is 11 seconds, **S**3 is 35 seconds and **S**4 is 28 seconds as the camera operator follows the detective inspector in the police station. Other shots of the police officers later in the first transcription have shorter duration, **T**1 **S**28 is 8 seconds, **S**31 is 7 seconds and **S**32 is 17 seconds. The sequence of images, **S**9 to **S**16 each have a duration of less than a second. The duration of these shots in combination with other signifiers that I have discussed produce images that are classificational, representing the night clubbers in an abstract rather than individual manner.

In the second extract there are shots of considerable duration; **T**2 **S**1 lasts for one minute and five seconds. The duration of these shots is important as it maintains a flow of representation without edits for a considerable period. The duration contributes to the signification of presence, both of the observational and participational kind, and of the construction of a realism that purports to replicate the experience of reality quite closely. As I have discussed in relation to the "long take" drawn from film studies, the duration of shots can be used by producers as one signifier among others to represent the text as if a recording of events that are real, unstaged and unmediated. The use of extended duration in a shot represents the text as if closer to the experience of the viewer in everyday life: a continuous flow that does not radically move position.

Summary

In this section I have considered the extracts of the television programme *Mersey Blues* using the categories and theoretical perspectives outlined in previous chapters. This has included firstly the position of the camera and specifically its anthropomorphic properties, distance and horizontal cant. Secondly I have discussed the stability of the image, thirdly camera movement including anthropomorphic and dependence/independence of the movement. Finally the continuity and duration of the images in the transcriptions was considered.

From the analysis of the particular semiotic resources that I have transcribed, central to the realism of the world is that it is represented as being recorded "as it happens". *Mersey Blues* is constructed through the use of the technology of the hand held camera. This affords a "human" view of the events, the anthropomorphic position and movement that I have discussed. This is combined with the stability of the hand held camera to represent the world of the text as unsecure and unstaged.

The representation the viewer/reader as being present with the police while they are engaged in their operations is inflected in two different ways by the specific use of signifiers: observation and participation. The producers relate the viewer/reader to the events depicted in some circumstances as if the viewer/reader was watching or observing with some distance and independence from the represented participants. In other instances the producers position the viewer/reader as if they were an active participant in the events by replicating the movement and actions of the officers. This participatory and subjective aspect of the text demonstrates the extent to which the police wish to be represented as

open to the viewers/readers, to the extent that they may be represented as joining in, and being a part of police activities. In the realism of the world of the police in *Mersey Blues* there is a shift to involving the viewer/reader directly in events; the world of the text is at least partly represented as being a more direct form of experience than simply observation.

The use of classificational images in the sequence of night club goers, signified through the use of all the semiotic resources I have discussed, represents a world that is distinct from that of the police. The public in this instance are represented as a general and somewhat indistinct group, in contrast to the more fully realised representation of the police. This represents the construction of a different world for the public (the club goers) than that used for the police. The police and the public have been separated by the producers of the text rather than integrated into a world that they both share, apart that is from the suspect and her son, To some extent, the police have been removed from their social context and are represented as operating in a world of their own.

6.3 HOMICIDE: LIFE ON THE STREET

The analysis of *Homicide: Life on the Street* follows the same order as the previous section that dealt with *Mersey Blues.* Firstly I will discuss the position of the camera and the resulting viewpoint, secondly the stability of the image, thirdly the movement of the camera and finally the continuity and the duration of shots.

Position

Position/Anthropomorphism

The producers of *Homicide: Life on the Street* make considerable use of anthropomorphic positions, through the affordance of the hand held camera, with only two shots in the excerpts that are unanthromorphic. The first sequence of images in **T**1, **S**1 to **S**5, maintain anthropomorphic positions as the main represented participants in the text, the detectives Bayliss and Pembleton, move inside a shopping mall to the scene of a shooting. The shot **T**1 **S**7 and **S**11 by contrast do not use anthropomorphic positions, rather the camera is positioned directly above the hospital bed of the victim of the shooting, a small boy. The position of the shot, **T**1 **S**8, takes up the position of the brain-dead patient himself whose eye reflexes are being checked by a nurse. The use of a "subjective" point of view by the producers in this instance may be to engage the viewer/reader with the plight of the victim. It therefore signifies an invitation by the text's producers

to the viewer/reader to a form of participation, identifying themselves to some extent with the situation.

The position of the point of view in **T**1 **S**9 is pointing downwards to spent cartridges on the floor of the shopping mall, there are flashes as the position of view moves along the ground. This shot has signifiers that may intend it to be a subjective image, specifically representing the point of view and movement of a police photographer. By representing the viewer/reader as inhabiting the role of the photographer, the producers are using a more direct means of involving the viewer reader with the represented events than as an observer. The viewer/reader is represented as if they were a participant themselves.

In **T**1 **S**12 the point of view is positioned by the text's producers very closely to the represented participant facing a wall, from which a bullet is being removed. Here the position is more objective, and the orientation of the camera represents the viewer/reader as an observer of the actions of the forensic team, rather than as a participant. In the second extract, the producers use positions of the camera and resulting points of view that are consistently anthropomorphic in the environment of the police station. The use of anthropomorphic positions is one important signifier that represents the world of the text from the position of a potential observer. This will be considered in relation to other signifiers below.

Position/Distance

In the opening shots of the first extract, **T**1 **S**1 and **S**2, the represented participants are depicted with long shots, here the producers signify the importance of the circumstances of the represented participants. Similarly the long shot in **T**1 **S**6 establishes the circumstances of the boy victim in a hospital bed. From **T**1 **S**3 onwards, with the exception of **T**1 **S**6, the distance from represented participants is reduced, beginning with mid shots in **T**1 **S**4 and **T**1 **S**5, moving the position of the viewer closer to the scene of the crime and beginning to involve the viewer/reader more intimately. Shots **T**1 **S**7, **S**8 and **S**11 are big close ups; in **T**1 **S**7 and **S**11 of the boy victim, and in **S**8 of the nurse testing the boy's brain function. Here the introduction of distance that is intimate in the representation of the victim and the nurse is used to signify the intensity of the situation and represents the potential for closer involvement by viewer/readers with individual represented participants than medium and long distances. Close distance is used to signify the construction of a world where viewer/readers are encouraged to be affected by the circumstances of represented participants and involved in their plight, rather than being asked to consider represented participants impartially and somewhat dispassionately as may be signified with longer distances.

In the second extract, close ups are used to represent the police in the precinct station, **T**2 **S**3 and **S**4 represent officers in close up. In the interaction between the officers and the suspect in a cell, close ups are used in **T**2 **S**9, **S**11, and **S**15. The use of close ups and representation of intimacy with represented participants that this signifies is one contrast to the observational forms used in *Mersey Blues*. The producers choose to combine certain signifiers from observational

documentary with signifiers from conventional drama. The use of close distances by producers constructs the represented participants as individuals and intimates of viewer/readers, by individuating them within the frame and by representing them as within intimate social space (Hall, 1966), rather than as the objects of a relatively disinterested observational process. Viewer/readers may then be expected by producers to respond to the represented participants on a personal and emotional basis.

Position/Cant

While the image is unsteady in many shots throughout the extracts, moving the horizon to cant to a limited degree, such as in **T**1 **S**9; the representation does not include movement of the horizon that is far from straight. While the world of the police and their relationships with each other are constructed by producers as uncertain to some extent, they are not represented as out of control or dangerously skewed from normality: represented by a relatively stable horizon.

Stability

In the first extract the stability of the camera varies from the stable in **T**1 **S**7 and **S**8 to unsteady, as for example in **S**1 and **S**6. In **T**1 **S**9 the camera moves though the image itself remains stable. In the second extract the text's producers use unsteadiness to a greater degree. In **T**2 **S**1 the camera moves unsteadily around Bayliss and Munch. In **T**2 **S**5 the camera is also unsteady while moving between the police officers. In the following scene, unsteadiness is also used to represent

the situation between the police officers Bayliss and Pembleton and the suspect in a cell. In shots **T**2 **S**10 to **S**16 the texts producers have used instability varying from slightly unsteady to unsteady.

The combination of unsteadiness and movement in these images represents the choice by the text's producers to use a hand held camera and the signifiers that it affords. In this text, the use of such technology and the signifiers produced by it, such as instability, is a remaking of signs from the tradition of observational documentary. The new signifiers carry with them the meanings of actuality, presence and authenticity from documentary texts, but in the context of a dramatic text, are an attempt I think, to represent the drama as closer to the experience of observation rather than as a theatrical presentation to an audience.

Movement

In this section I will consider the movement of the camera and resulting point of view in *Homicide: Life on the Street* from the perspectives of anthropomorphism and independence and dependence.

Movement/Anthropomorphism

In shot **T**1 **S**1 the movement of the point of view is anthropomorphic as it moves as a human observer of the represented participants might move on a horizontal level and at a height level with the represented participants. The camera is used to make the point of view precede the detectives as they walk towards the scene

of the crime. The image dips slightly when Bayliss bends down then continues before stopping and then turning to the right as the represented participants enter the shopping mall.

The shot **S**2 begins with the camera pointing down from the upper level of the mall, it then moves up and left as the detectives enter along a walkway. By beginning the shot away from the represented participants and then moving to frame them, the point of view as a potential observer appears to have some element of independence from the represented participants. The initial position of view is represented as if an observer and hence the viewer/reader were already in that position when the represented participants arrived.

The movement of the camera in **T**1 **S**3 is also anthropomorphic as it follows detective Bayliss as he examines bullet holes in a window. The image, as in **T**1 **S**1, is dipped by the camera following the movement of the detective. In shot **T**1 **S**9 the movement of the camera close to the ground uses anthropomorphism as one means to signify a subjective image: presumably the viewpoint of a member of a forensic team, taking photographs of spent cartridges.

The shots **T**1 **S**7 and **S**8 have an absence of movement altogether. In these cases the use of a fixed point of view contrasts the situation of the boy victim with other represented participants. The lack of movement signifies no potential for change in the situation and in the relationship between this represented participant and the viewer/reader. In shot **T** 1 **S**11 the camera moves in an unanthropomorphic manner, moving vertically away from the victim of the

shooting, from a position directly above him, suspended in space. The use of such movement may be a signifier for an "other worldly" view of the brain-dead boy, rather than a "human" or observational point of view that an anthropomorphic position would provide.

The second extract begins with a complex sequence of movement. In **T**2 **S**1, the point of view begins pointing down before moving back and then moves in a arc around detective Bayliss before moving toward his colleague Munch. The movement of the point of view is again anthropomorphic, maintaining positions that an actual observer might take up. The shots of the detectives in the cell with the suspect, **T**2 **S**9 to **S**1, are also anthropomorphic.

The producers of the text use movement of the camera and resulting point of view to represent the world of the text as if the process of observation was responsive to represented participants and spontaneous in following them. In **T**1 **S**1 the camera is made to dip as Bayliss stoops to pick up a leaf. In **T**2 **S**6, **S**7 and **S**8 there are a number of movements that are similarly represented as if responding to the spontaneous movement of the represented participants. The representation of the camera operator as responding with small movements to the actions of represented participants is a further signifier remade from the representation of the actual observation and recording of "real" events.

Movement/Independence and Dependence

The first shot of the first extract from *Homicide: Life on the Street*, **T**1 **S**1 demonstrates dependent movement as the camera moves back preceding the represented participants. There is also dependent movement in shot **T**1 **S**2 where the camera moves, following one of the detectives as he examines evidence. In shot **T**1 **S**9 the camera moves independently of represented participants as it possibly represents the point of view of forensic photographer, moving close to the ground, pausing at the site of bullet casings.

In shot **T**1 **S**10 the camera moves independently from a position in a hospital corridor to view the parents of the boy victim in a waiting room. Here, the combination of the starting position of view away from the represented participants and the relatively slow and independent movement of the camera towards the room where the boy's parents are waiting is used by producers to represent the viewer/reader in terms of the observation of events.

The position of view and hence the viewer/reader is represented as separate from the represented participants in the narrative of the text. The producers use of these signifiers draws on meanings that construct the dramatic world of the text as if it were an objectively existing world independent of the process of observation. The realism of the text is partly constructed as one where the authority of the text is derived as if coming from the experience of observing and recording independently occurring events and not just from its presentation by a broadcasting institution.

In **T**2 **S**1 the position of view moves independently of the represented participants shifting between the detectives in the office. The following shots **T**2 **S**2 to **S**8 also contain independent movement of the camera around the detectives in their office environment. In **T**2 **S**9 to **S**16 the camera moves independently around the detectives and the suspect they are questioning. The use of independent movement in these shots, in combination with other signifiers, is a decision made by the producers to represent the world using signs drawn from observational texts. The producers of *Homicide: Life on the Street* therefore construct a realism where the relationship with viewer/readers is represented using forms drawn from the authority of the experience of observation in conjunction with the presentation of a pre-determined and constructed dramatic narrative.

Continuity

The transition between shots **T**1 **S**3 and **S**4 is marked by a disjunction between the images; while the point of view remains the same, one represented participant, Bayliss, has been replaced by another, Pembleton. The shots **T**1 **S**14 and **S**15 are marked by an edit that is also a disjunction. The point of view remains the same in both shots. However, while in **S**14 Bayliss is holding up a forensic bag with a bullet inside it, in **S**15 the bag has gone and Bayliss' face is turned more to the right than before.

In the second extract, the edit between shots **T**2 **S**1 and **S**2 is used to change the point of view from a CU of the detective Munch's face to a side view at MCU. It

appears that the change in point of view is less than 30°. It is conventional in film and television drama to require changes of point of view that are greater than 30° (see Chapter 4). In the sequence of shots within a cell with the suspect (**T**2 **S**9 to **S**16), the position of view changes side with each edit up to **T**2 **S**15. In these shots, the point of view changes from one side of a theoretical 180° line through the centre of the cell to the other. This produces changes in the position in the frame of the other represented participants. For example, in the edit **T**2 **S**12 and **S**13 the detective Bayliss moves from being on the left of the frame to being on the right while Pembleton moves from the right of the frame to the left.

As I have discussed in Chapter 4, the conventions that are used in continuity editing represent the world of the text as presented to an audience in a similar way to drama in the theatre. In so doing, this replicates the position of the audience in the theatre: as relatively fixed and to some extent passive. In *Homicide: Life on the Street* the use of non-continuity editing represents the world of the text and its relationship to the audience as less formal than would be the case with the use of traditional conventions of editing.

The use of multiple points of view that transgress the theoretical 180° line represents the world of the text as ambiguous: it is not represented from a single side. The shifting of positions represents the world as potentially contested, where one viewpoint may be as valid as any other. The audience is not positioned as if the events were simply being presented to them by a unified source that restricted their point of view, but as if the audience were given some freedom to view events for themselves. The producers are therefore representing

the world of the text as not comprehensible from one point of view, but as more complex requiring a number of different positions from which to view actions. Furthermore, it represents the space in which the events are taking place as fully realised and not as a theatrical kind of set.

The signifiers of the jump cut and non-continuity editing are remade from sources in film making, such as those films of the *nouvelle vague* (particularly *A bout de souffe*). Jump cuts join images that are not continuous in terms of the rules of continuity editing. Their use in *Homicide: Life on the Street* represents the world of the text as disjointed, fragmented, and therefore where the relationships between represented participants are ambiguous (Raskin, 1998).

The use of such signifiers in *Homicide: Life on the Street* may also represent an attempt to differentiate this text from other television programmes in the "market" of television viewing, placing this text away from the mundane and traditional. It also represents changes in social relations that allow for the legitimation of unconventional forms in mainstream television. However, it has routinely been shown late at night in the UK on Channel 4 suggesting that there are those at the station who do not or did not consider it suitable for a wider public audience.

Duration

The duration of shots in *Homicide: Life on the Street* is used as a resource in the production of realism. In the first extract, the first three shots are all over 20 seconds long, **T**1 **S**1 is 28 seconds, **S**2 is 25 seconds and **S**3 is 21 seconds. Other

shots in this extract are of medium length such as **S**4 and **S**5, which are 6 seconds in duration, **S**9 is 15 seconds and **S**10 is 10 seconds. Shot **S**7 and **S**14 are short, at 1 second, while the longest shot in this extract is **S**17 at 46 seconds.

In the second extract, the duration of shots is never longer than 21 seconds (in **S**16). The longer shots in the extract are **S**1 at 18 seconds, **S**5 and **S**14 at 15 seconds. Shots **S**2 and **S**4 are less than a second. In this extract there is considerable regularity in the duration of shots in the scene where the detectives question the suspect: **T**2 **S**10 to **S**15. Here, all the shots are of a similar medium duration, ranging from 6 seconds in **S**13 to 15 seconds in **S**14.

The shots of relatively long duration (above 20 seconds) are a signifier remade from the film and documentary use of the "long take", as I have discussed in Chapter 4. The long take has been frequently used to represent a text as relatively unmediated. The producers of *Homicide: Life on the street* use the duration of shots to produce a dramatic text that uses, among others, the signifiers and meanings of the documentary. This text draws to some extent on the associated authenticity of the experience of observation, along with some shots with shorter duration that are signifiers from more conventional drama.

Summary

In this section I have described and analysed signifiers in the categories discussed in the methodology. Firstly, the position of the point of view, including its anthropomorphism, distance and cant of the image. Secondly I have considered

the stability of the image, thirdly the movement of the point of view in terms of anthropomorphism and dependence and independence. Finally I have dealt with the continuity between shots and the duration of shots.

The construction of realism in *Homicide: Life on the Street* draws from a number of different genres and means of addressing the viewer/reader. The text's producers use observational forms such as anthropomorphic positions, independent and "responsive" movement of the point of view, and the long duration of some shots. In the extracts I have analysed, the handheld camera is predominantly used, a technology that represents the world from a "human" perspective, and represents the world of the text as if from the perspective of an observer. The producers have also used subjective forms of point of view combined with movement that represent the viewer/reader as if she or he were a participant in the depicted events. There is also the use by producers of the text of non-continuity editing and jump cuts, these relate to non-traditional forms of the drama genre, most notably in avant-garde film.

The use of signifiers remade from the documentary genre represents the world of the text as if it were based more on the experience of observation than a narrative that is presented, pre-formed as it were, to a relatively static audience. In doing so, *Homicide: Life on the Street* represents social relations that endow the audience with a greater degree of power than would be the case with traditional drama that maintains a stronger division between the presented text and a fixed audience.

Signifiers derived from film, such as the jump cut and non-continuity editing, are also part of the dialogic aspect of the text. The audience is addressed as sophisticated individuals aware of the use and perhaps history of such forms, rather than as a traditional mass of viewers that need to be presented with a straightforward narrative. Within the discourse of television police drama, *Homicide: Life on the Street* seeks to differentiate itself in the "market place" through the use of these signifiers and represent itself using a particular style that is its selling point.

The world of the text is represented not as independently existing reality but as drama refracted by association with the signifiers of actuality and of film aesthetics. The world of the text is constructed in a manner which challenges the stability and authority of relationships between the text and the audience. The viewer/reader is addressed less as a member of a fixed and distant audience and more of a participant and active interpreter of the text.

6.4 THE BILL

The analysis of the extracts from *The Bill* is undertaken as follows: firstly the position of the point of view; its anthropomorphic properties, the distance from represented participants and the cant of the image. Secondly the stability of the image is discussed, thirdly the movement of the point of view, fourthly the continuity between shots and finally the duration of shots.

Position

Position/Anthropomorphism

The producers use of the camera in *The Bill* maintains a point of view that is anthropomorphic throughout both of the extracts. For example the sequence **T**1 **S**1 to **S**17, which depicts uniformed officers entering the house of a woman, contains only positions that represent a "human" point of view. In **T**2 **S**9 the camera is positioned in the back seat of a police car, and "looks" out of the side window at the sergeant.

There are many shots in the extracts from *The Bill* where the position of the camera represents a point of view very close to that of a represented participant. Branigan (op. cit.) refers to such shots as "subjective", as they represent the narrative from a character's perspective rather than that of a more "objective" and impersonal narrator. In the first extract, the shots **T**1 **S**6 to **T**1 **S**11 and **T**1 **S**15 to **T**1 **S**17 are positioned as if they were from the approximate point of view of

represented participants. The position does not absolutely represent the character's point of view as is consistent with the "classical" conventions of film (Bordwell, 1985). The precise point of view of a represented participant is generally not used in classical conventions as it is believed it might confuse the viewer/reader if a character acknowledges the presence of the camera by looking directly at it. The first sequence of subjective shots represents a conversation between a policewoman (hereafter WPC) and the neighbour of a missing woman. The second sequence represents a brief exchange between the woman and the police sergeant (hereafter PS). In the second extract, subjective positions are employed in **T**2 **S**20 to **T**2 **S**23 and **T**2 **S**25 to **S**40, which depict the interviewing of a witness.

The use of subjective points of view is an important aspect of the realism of this text. These images represent the viewer/reader as if they were sharing the point of view with one of the represented participants. This contrasts with objective points of view, which are represented as if the experience of a real or imaginary witness or observer. Subjective images therefore represent the place of the viewer/reader within a dramatic narrative and offer a direct and personal form of involvement to the viewer/reader.

The use of subjective points of view is one aspect of the "classical" form of film and television. As a convention it has come to be been fully accepted by audiences as a "natural" means of representing the world in the genre of dramatic texts and occasionally in other genres. However, subjective points of view also represent events as having been deliberately constructed for presentation to an

audience. The position of represented participants must be compromised to allow for the positioning of a camera: the camera and the represented participant cannot occupy the same space at the same time. Objective images, by taking the point of a view of an observer, are represented as not requiring intervention in the world of the represented participants. The form of realism of the text will therefore be partly dependent on the extent to which subjective, objective and unanthropomorphic points of view are used. In the case of the extracts from *The Bill*, all of the shots are anthropomorphic, though split between objective and subjective points of view. This may be common in drama texts that use traditional forms, representing the world of the text as always accessible to human experience; both in terms of the experience of the represented participants themselves and of the world as operating independently of them.

Position/Distance

At the beginning of the first extract from *The Bill*, **T**1 **S**1 to **S**5, the point of view is chosen so as to represent the police officers in mid shot. At the shot **T**1 **S**6 the point of view moves closer to a medium close up, as the policewoman and neighbour talk. It remains at that distance up to **T**1 **S**14 where the point of view moves out to a medium long shot and then in **T**1 **S**15 closer again to a mid shot. The second scene in the first extract begins with a long shot of the police canteen (**T**1 **S**18), all of the following shots in this extract use the distance of medium close up, with the exception of **T**1 **S**23 which is a close up.

In second extract, the opening shots are in long shot (**T**2 **S**1) and then the camera moves to mid shot (**T**2 **S**2). Here again, the environment is important for setting the scene of the actions of represented participants. In the following shots (**T**2 **S**3 to **S**8) the point of view moves closer to the represented participants to a medium close up. The second scene begins with a close up of the back of a police inspector's head (**T**2 **S**9) and then in the three following shots the point of view is represented in mid shot. In the third scene (**T**2 **S**13 to **T**2 **S**40), the point of view begins in medium close up then in **T**2 **S**20 changes to close up. All of the following shots in the extract are also in close up, with the exception of **T**2 **S**24, which is in mid shot.

The initial distance of mid shot in the first extract constructs the viewer/reader's relationship to the represented participants as being at the social, rather than intimate level, which the producers of the text may believe is appropriate for the beginning of the programme. This distance also depicts some of the circumstances of the police action, in this case the back garden of a house. At this point after the initial establishment of circumstances and relationships, the camera may assume a rather more intimate location in relation to the represented participants.

In the second scene of the first extract, the first shot, **T**1 **S**18, is a long shot, showing the circumstances of the off-duty officers, and then the point of view moves to represent the officers in pairs at medium close up. In this scene, distance is used to represent relationships between the officers themselves, rather than identifying them as individuals (with the exception of the close up **T**1 **S**23).

Furthermore the viewer/reader is not expected at this point to relate to the officers in an intimate way: their social environment is what is at issue.

In the first scene of the second extract, the producers use a long shot to establish the location of the police officers then the point of view moves to a mid shot and then medium close up. This is a traditional means of using distance that gradually moves the point of view and by implication the viewer/reader from the general environment to more specific objects or actions. In the third scene the point of view begins in mid shot and then moves closer to close up. This indicates that the producers of the text expect the viewer/reader to become more intimately involved with the represented participants, and in conjunction with the use of subjective positions represents the close attention of the represented participants themselves.

Position/Cant

The images in *The Bill* maintain a relatively stable horizon, never varying greatly from a level perspective. The maintenance of a relatively level horizon, without canted images, represents the world of the text as secure and the events portrayed in the text as "normal" through the use of the traditional conventions of that time.

Stability

There are a number of instances in *The Bill* where slight unsteadiness is used. However the extent of instability is never greater than that. For example in the

first extract there is slight or very slight unsteadiness in **T**1 **S**1, **S**3, **S**8, **S**9, and **S**11. The first scene in **T**1 involves the discovery by the police officers of a dead body, these are circumstances which are represented to a limited extent as uncertain and insecure. In the second scene in this extract the represented participants are in the police canteen and the circumstances are represented as fully secure through the use by producers of a more stable camera mounting and the resulting stability of the image.

Greater use is made of unsteadiness in the second extract. In the first scene the following shots are slightly or very slightly unstable: **T**2 **S**3, **S**4, **S**11, **S**12 and **S**13. In the second scene **T**2 **S**10, **S**11 and **S**12 are slightly unsteady. In the third scene, the shots **T**2, **S**20, **S**21, **S**22, **S**23, **S**28, **S**30, **S**31, **S**32, **S**33, **S**34, **S**36, **S**38, **S**39 and **S**40 are slightly unsteady. As with the examples from the first extract, the use of only slight unsteadiness may represent the depicted events and circumstances as less than fully secure, though never approaching a loss of control.

The use of slight instability by the producers of the text is created through the use of a hand held camera. As with *Homicide: Life on the Street*, the signifier, taken from documentary and other texts, is used to construct a realism where events are represented to some extent as if followed by an observer who is witnessing and experiencing the events. The instability of the image represents the potential for a response to events and the movement of the point of view.

The general stability of the image in The Bill, in the two transcriptions presented here indicates the ontological character of the world that the producers of the text wish to create: it is one where relationships are relatively fixed and predictable. Relations both between the officers themselves and between suspects, witness and criminals are relatively secure. Such relationships may vary, but they never threaten the overall structure of the represented participants' environment.

Movement

Movement/Anthropomorphism

In the first shot of the first extract, **T**1 **S**1, the point of view moves as if it were the movement of an observer, moving from the police sergeant at the back door of a house to the WPC and neighbour in the back garden. In the shot **T**1 **S**2 the camera follows the PS as he moves around the house, inside the living room and then up the stairs, again in the manner that an actual person might do. There is anthropomorphic movement in **T**1 **S**12 where the point of view moves following the PS into the bathroom then "looks" down to the bath. In the shot **T**1 **S**14 the camera precedes the neighbour and WPC, reversing into the hallway of the house and then "looks" up at the PS. In the second scene of the first extract there is only very small movement of the point of view in **T**1 **S**18 and in **T**1 **S**19, in the rest of the scene there is no movement whatsoever.

In the second extract of *The Bill,* the first scene (**T**2 **S**1) begins with movement of the camera as it turns to the left as two police officers walk from their car to a

shop. The following shot (**T**2 **S**2) begins with the camera facing down before moving backwards a little and then up to the police officers as they walk inside the shop. Then the camera moves in closer to the shopkeeper. In **T**2 **S**6 the camera moves only slightly to the left and then up slightly as the shopkeeper points to a security camera. In the shot **T**2 **S**8 the camera moves slightly to the left and then turns to the right. In the second scene, in **T**2 **S**9 the camera moves as it represented as being positioned in the back of a moving police car from the point of view of a rear passenger seat. There is no other movement in the second scene. In the third scene, there is very limited movement in the first shot **T**2 **S**13 as the point of view moves slightly in and to the right, and after that the only movement is slight movement to the right in **T**2 **S**37.

The use of anthropmorphic movement, though in a limited way, in *The Bill* represents the world of the text partly as if observed by a witness/observer. For example, as the shopkeeper bends down the camera dips too and moves up as the shopkeeper straightens. The camera also responds to represented participant action in **T**2 **S**6 as it tilts up as the shopkeeper points to a security camera mounted on the wall. Such movement is an attempt to represent a sense of temporal presence and continuity between the actions and the process of representing them: as if the camera was ready to witness and convey whatever happens and is able to respond to spontaneous actions.

Movement/Independence and Dependence

The producers of *The Bill* use both dependent and independent of the movement of the represented participants. In the first scene of the first extract, the point of view is moved independently while in the back garden of a house in **T**1 **S**1. However in the following shot **T**1 **S**2 the camera moves dependently, following the movement of the PS. The movement is also dependent in **T**1 **S**14, where it precedes the neighbour and WPC into the hall of the house. In the second extract the movement in **T**2 **S**2 is firstly dependent as the point of view precedes the officers into the shop and then independent as it moves around them. In shot **T**2 **S**8 the movement of the point of view is similarly a mixture of independent and dependent movement as the point of view moves around the police officers.

The producers of *The Bill* use both independent and dependent movement of the point of view as a means of drawing on the signifiers of documentary texts and others that signify to some extent an "independent" observation of events. However in *The Bill* these forms do not take up a major role in constructing the text's realism.

Continuity

The movement of the point of view between shots through the use of editing in *The Bill* almost entirely follows the conventions of "classical" continuity editing. In the first scene of the first extract, the exchange between the WPC and the neighbour (**T**1 **S**4 to **T**1 **S**11) is edited according to the "180° rule" (as discussed in chapter 4). Across edits and changes in point of view, the point of view does not cross an axis formed by the represented participants and therefore their spatial

relations are maintained: the WPC is represented as on the left and the neighbour as on the right. In the second scene of the first extract, where four officers have a conversation in the police canteen, the editing also follows the principles of classical continuity. The point of view again remains on one side of the "line", here formed by the side of canteen table, but moves between Officers 1 & 2 represented as on the right side of the table and Officers 3 & 4 as on the left side. There is however one exception, Shot **T**1 **S**26, which differs from the other shots in the scene, as the point of view is represented as being on the opposite side of the table than those shots both before and after it. It represents Officers 1 & 2 as being on the left side of the table.

In first scene of the second extract the point is view is kept consistently on the same side in the shots **T**2 **S**2 to **T**2 **S**8. The producers of the text maintain the point of view on the public side of the counter in the shop, which ensures that the police officers are consistently represented as moving from right to left. In the second scene the point of view is switched from being inside the rear passenger seat of police car in **T**2 **S**9 and **S**11 to the PS outside the car looking down at the driver in shots **T**2 **S**10 and **S**12. The point of view again is maintained on one side of a 180° line, keeping the car on the left and the PS on the right. In the third scene, **T**2 **S**13 to **T**2 **S**40, the point of view is positioned on one side of a table which acts as the 180° line, where a witness is being interviewed by the PS and the WPC. This maintains the spatial relations of the represented participants throughout the scene. The witness is positioned on the left while the PS and WPC are positioned on the right. Throughout both of the extracts the editing of

shots also confirms to the "30° rule" that there should be a change in the point of view of greater than 30° between shots.

As I have described above, for the most part, the producers of The Bill use traditional forms of continuity that maintain a rigidly structured set of spatial relations between represented participants. These forms include the maintenance of a 180° line in the positioning of the point of view; the continuity of the position of represented participants between shots; and a noticeable difference between the point of view in different shots of at least 30°. In sequences where a conversation between represented participants is depicted, the producers of *The Bill* use the classical form of continuity to represent conversations between represented participants: the shot/reverse shot structure (Bordwell, 1985, 110) in which represented participants engaged in dialogue are consistently shown from the same side.

The realism of the text is constructed such that the world is presented to the audience as if their point of view were spatially consistent and the events were therefore played out for their benefit. The producers may consider the audience to be unable or unwilling to accept forms that contravene traditional conventions of television production. Classical forms of continuity are also one means of representing the realism of the world as relatively stable and unchanging, and of addressing the audience from a position of authority rather than as if viewer/readers were participants or observers. The world is one sense represented as if previously constructed and then presented to the audience rather than represented as if it were the viewer/readers own experience of the world.

The use of such forms is an attempt by the producers of the text to represent the narrative in a conventionally "neutral" way, by bringing the story and represented participants to the fore rather than the actual experience of observing their actions.

Duration

The duration of shots in *The Bill* varies between the very short and the medium long. In the first extract the duration of the longest shot is the opening shot **T**1 **S**1 at 27 seconds, which is the shot with the longest duration in both of the extracts from *The Bill*. The second shot **T**1 **S**2 is 15 seconds long. The first scene contains other shots of medium duration, such as **T**1 **S**3 at 9 seconds, **T**1 **S**11 at 11 seconds as well as shots of short duration: **T**1 **S**8, **S**10 and **S**16 at 1 second and **T**1 **S**13 and **S**15 at 2 seconds. In the second scene the shots with the longest duration are also the first shots of the scene; **T**1 **S**18 and **S**19 are both 6 seconds. The following shots are of shorter duration, between 1 second and 4 seconds, though the majority are 1 or 2 seconds in duration.

In the first scene of the second extract the producers use shots of medium duration; **T**2 **S**2 is 20 seconds long and **S**8 is 19 seconds. In the second scene, shot **T**2 **S**9 is 8 seconds, the following shot is 5 seconds long. In the third scene, the shot with the longest duration is **T**2 **S**30 at 8 seconds, while the majority of shots have a duration of between 1 and 4 seconds.

The shots with the longest duration in the extracts from *The Bill* are also shots where the producers of the text employ hand held cameras in exterior locations. Duration is therefore used in combination with other forms to represent a remaking of signifiers of observation and experience that are drawn from documentary and other texts. As I have discussed above, producers use the length of the shot to represent the world of the text as relatively unmediated. The maintenance of temporal and spatial relations throughout a "long take" equates what is represented with what might be actually experienced by an observer/witness.

The shots of shortest duration are found in scenes of conversation where "classical" forms are used to represent the conversation of represented participants, such as shot/reverse shot. The subjective shots used in the extracts to represent a conversation between represented participants have brief durations (usually less than around 6 seconds) which represent the speaking represented participant before switching the image to the next represented participants in the conversation. Interaction between represented participants is therefore broken up into a series of brief and discrete images from alternating points of view. In such shots, the short duration though considered "natural" within the classical conventions of continuity, also represents the world of the text as constructed and prepared for presentation rather than as potentially the observation of events by an observer or witness.

Summary

In this section I have described and analysed extracts from the UK police series *The Bill*, using the categories established in the methodology chapter and applied to the other texts examined in this thesis. There is some use in *The Bill* of a hand held camera that is represented as responsive to the depicted events and in a similar way to the use of the camera in *Mersey Blues.* However, the producers of *The Bill* make greater use of signifiers associated with "classic" film and television drama than the other texts discussed in this chapter; these are close ups, subjective camera positions, the representation of dialogue in the shot/reverse shot system and a mostly stable camera.

The producers of *The Bill* therefore, in constructing a realism, have chosen to use some forms drawn from documentary texts but mostly to represent the police using the traditional and conventional signifiers of the genre of film and television drama. In comparison to *Homicide: Life on the Street* and *Mersey Blues* the producers of *The Bill* use semiotic resources to represent the viewer/reader as much more constrained. The producers choose to represent the theme of the police in *The Bill* using "classical" forms, and representing the audience as if in a theatrical relation to the represented world, that is relatively fixed in place with a consistent view of events from one side. The realism of the text is tied to realisms of the past, to representations of the police in British culture where stability, order and reliability are central meanings.

6.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have considered the construction of realism in three texts, using the semiotic resources of position, stability and movement of the camera and the continuity and duration of shots. By considering texts that have a common theme (in this case the police), but different genres (drama and documentary), it is possible to compare how realisms are constructed in the representation of different social occasions and the extent to which signifiers are shared across genres. The construction of realism in these texts indicates different conceptions by the producers of the social world in relation to the police and different conceptions of the audience and their involvement in the text.

The documentary *Mersey Blues* represents the world of the Police as accessible and open to the viewer/reader. The realism of the text is constructed to involve the viewer/reader as if they were an observer or indeed a participant themselves (on the side of the police): they are invited to "see for themselves" what is happening with what is represented as a minimum of mediation. As I have outlined above, this is achieved through the use of specific semiotic resources and technologies and their particular affordances.

The producers of the police drama from the USA, *Homicide: Life on the Street*, use signifiers drawn from documentary texts such as *Mersey Blues* in order to represent the world of the text as if it too were to some extent directly accessible to the viewer/reader. These include anthropomorphic points of view, and the

extensive movement and instability of the camera. *Homicide: Life on the Street* does therefore share a similar realism and construction of the social world to the documentary. The producers of *Homicide: Life on the Street* have chosen to use signifiers that to some extent defy the conventions of more traditional television drama, partly through signifiers shared with documentary and partly through signifiers more associated with "Film". This positions the text in terms of its assumptions of its audience: that they will be film literate, and will accept the representation of the social world that the realism produces.

By contrast, the producers of the UK drama *The Bill* have decided (in the context of the programme's own history and tradition) to represent the world of their text as relatively traditional, as it conforms to more of the "classical" conventions of film and television drama. The viewer/reader is addressed in some instances in similar ways to a theatrical audience rather than as a participant or observer, such as in the interview with a witness in **T**2 **S**13 to **T**2 **S**40. The world in which the police operate in this text is therefore represented as more stable and secure than that of *Homicide: Life on the Street.* Rather than the viewer/reader being represented largely as if experiencing the world of the text for themselves, here the world is more depicted as if presented to them by the producers of the text in a somewhat theatrical fashion.

Differences between the representation of the police in these texts suggests that there are cultural differences in how the police are represented in drama, through the use of semiotic resources and the construction of realism. The manner in which the theme of the Police is constructed in the US for *Homicide: Life on the*

Street may not have been considered suitable for the audience of *The Bill* in the UK and vice versa. While some British Police programmes may adopt the signifiers of US drama and therefore the picture of society they signify, at this point (1996) the producers of *The Bill* were sticking to a relatively familiar and traditional representation of the police as a stable and secure institution.

In terms of genre, the observational forms used in *Mersey Blues* represent its depiction of the real world with less of an authoritative structure of argument than would a documentary using the forms of "traditional exposition" (Nichols, 1991, 42). By adopting similar forms to *Mersey Blues*, the producers of the drama texts are representing the social occasion of drama as less "theatrical" and more personal and individual: as if addressed to the individual viewer/reader and not to a mass audience. This also has the effect of making the drama seem more realistic and proximate to the world of the viewer/reader, as if the producers of the text were concerned about bringing the events of the story to the viewer/reader without taking their attendance or respect for authority for granted. The extent to which the observational forms are used in the two drama texts examined here is quite different, with as I have suggested above the US series marking more of a shift in the traditional generic conventions of drama than the UK series.

As Baudrillard (Ibid) has pointed out, placing the viewer/reader at the centre of the text as if a participant marks a particular development in social relations. While he suggests that this dissolves the differences between active and passive, I wish to argue that this has been a move towards a model of the viewer/reader as a

individual agent or consumer, and is a representation of wider social and economic changes in society. As the relations within British and other societies have changed, and individuals have come to be considered more autonomous in relation to institutions, the producers of texts are forced to choose how and whether to represent such changing notions of the audience and their place in society.

CHAPTER 7

ANALYSIS PART TWO: The Studio World in Cookery and News

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter continues the analysis of realism in extracts from television texts. The texts considered here are *Can't Cook Won't Cook*, *BBC Breakfast News* and *Channel 5 News*. The format of the analyses follows those of the previous chapter: I discuss the position of the point of view (including sub-categories of anthropomorphism, distance and cant), the stability of the image, movement of the camera (including sub-categories of anthropomorphism and independence and dependence), continuity and the duration of shots. In each case there will be a description of the specific signifiers followed by my consideration of their signs and meaning in relation to realism.

7.2 CAN'T COOK WON'T COOK

Position

Position/Anthropomorphism

In the first shot of the first extract, **T**1 **S**1, the position of the point of view is from the back of the studio audience, at the bottom of the frame there are several rows of the studio audience from behind. The camera looks down slightly at the stage. The shots **T**1 **S**3 and **T**1 **S**5 use the same position. In **T**1 **S**2 the camera is level with the set and represents the host /chef from a direct angle. Throughout the first extract the position of the camera and resulting points of view are, with one exception, anthropomorphic. The anthropomorphic shots are level with the

set and represent a point of view that is similar to that of the studio audience though with varying distances from the represented participants. There is one unanthropomorphic point of view in the first extract; the shot **T**1 **S**57, where the camera is positioned above the kitchen set looking directly down on a plate of food.

In the second extract from *Can't Cook Won't Cook* there is a greater use of unanthropomorphic shots of the kitchen surface from above. The shots **T**2 **S**9, **S**14, **S**16, **S**18, **S**23, **S**25, **S**28, **S**34, **S**36, **S**45, **S**59, **S**63, **S**65, and **S**73 show a pan, dish or other kitchen item from above. The other shots in the second extract depict represented participants from anthropomorphic positions, from the point of view of the studio audience, though as before with varying distances from the represented participants.

The anthropomorphic camera positions in this text represent the viewer/reader as if they were members of the studio audience in as far as the point of view of the camera is positioned facing the represented participants and the set. However, the point of view constructed for the viewer/reader differs from that of the studio audience in that the distance with which represented participants are depicted is mostly closer than it would be for the actual audience in the studio. This is due to the fact that the producers choose the majority of images from the television cameras that occupy the space between the studio audience and the sets. Furthermore the point of view changes for the television audience as the text's producers choose varying cameras to provide the image. The attention of the viewer/reader within the world of the text is therefore focused by the direction of

the text's producers whereas the studio audience nominally has the freedom to attend where they wish.

The representation of the presence of a studio audience is important to the text's realism, in that it represents the text as an actual event that is recorded live and watched by anonymous members of the public. The studio audience, while only visible in the opening shots of the text, do play a part aurally, as their laughter is heard on the soundtrack from time to time in the programme.

The shots produced from unanthropomorphic positions represent a point of view from above the kitchen sets. The image is of a dish, or a pan, taken from a position that represents the object from a generic and classificatory location, rather than the point of view of a represented participant or the audience. The signifier of an image of the dish taken from above represents the remaking of a signifier from the discourse of "cuisine" itself: cookery books, advertising and other television texts. The intention of the producers may be to remake meanings of professionalism and taste taken from the discourse of cuisine and use them in the text, so that the programme is represented as more than a game show: it has a refined element of high culture. Such positions may also serve in producing pedagogical images, by showing clearly the position of kitchen items and ingredients for those who wish to cook the dish for themselves.

In this text, as in others, the angle of involvement (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p.140) is used as a resource in the production of realism to represent the status of represented participants. In the first extract, the shots **T**1 **S**2 and **S**4 are from a

position that is direct, from a frontal position and therefore with maximum involvement. In these cases it is the host addressing the camera directly and introducing the text. The individual contestants and their partners are only represented with maximum involvement in the first extract in **T**1 **S**59, **S**61, **S**63 and **S**65 as a group with the host/chef. In the second extract maximum involvement is used with the contestants and host/chef in **T**2 **S**35, **T**2 **S**47, and **T**2 **S**54. The use of maximum involvement, a direct angle from the centre of the set, indicates a particular status for the person represented in this way. The host is, with the exception of a contestant in shot **T**2 **S**56, the only represented participant for whom maximum involvement is used to represent them as an individual. The angle of involvement is a signifier of status and authority, and in this text it is used to represent the role of the host in relation to the other represented participants. The design of the set for the text places the host in the middle with two kitchens for the contestants on either side. As the majority of cameras on the studio floor appear to have been positioned towards the centre of the set, shots of the host are direct in terms of involvement while the majority of shots of the contestants and/or their partners are less direct. One side of the set, where one contestant and partner are situated is mostly shot from the right, and the other contestant and partner on the other side of the set are mostly shot from the left. The contestants and their partners are therefore represented as slightly less important and of correspondingly less interest to the viewer/reader than the host.

The direct address of a represented participant to the camera is an important signifier in establishing that the text is a "real" event. While it is also sometimes

used in dramatic texts, here the direct address of the host represents an acknowledgement of the television audience. For Kress and van Leeuwen (ibid, 122) direct address in still images is a demand for attention and engagement from viewer/readers. In *Can't Cook Won't Cook* the acknowledgement of the audience abolishes any pretence of unnoticed observation and suggests that the purpose and events of the text are precisely directed towards the viewer/reader.

The position of the point of view does not include any shots that represent the position of the host or competitors and their partners and therefore the anthropomorphic shots used in the text are not subjective. (Branigan, op. cit.) In *Can't Cook Won't Cook* it is made clear that viewer/readers are not addressed as if they were participants but mostly as if they were members of the studio audience. This contributes to establishing the realism of the text as broadly that of a theatrical experience, a show where the viewer/reader's role is limited to watching an organised and tightly controlled event.

Position/Distance

The first shot in the first extract, and the third and fifth shots (**T**1 **S**1, **S**3 and **S**5) are extreme long shots. Their position is from the right side of the area of the studio audience and represents the breadth of the set and includes several rows of the studio audience from behind who are facing the set. The shot **T**1 **S**2 is closer as a mid-shot, as are the shots **T**1 **S**4 and **T**1 **S**6, which are long shots. These are more specific images of the host from a direct angle. There are four close-ups in the first extract, two of the host in **T**1 **S**45 and **T**1 **S**13 and two of a contestant in

T1 **S**55 and **T**1 **S**62. The other shots in the first extract are in the medium range of distance (medium close-up, mid-shot and medium long shot). In the second extract there are two close-ups of a contestant in shots **T**2 **S**52 and **T**2 **S**55. With the exception of a long shot in **T**2 **S**69, all the other shots in the second extract are of medium distance.

The great majority of shots in both the first and second extracts are from positions in the medium "zone" of distance: Medium Long Shot, Mid Shot, Medium Close Up, as opposed to close or long positions. The use of long distance shots is important in the introductory stage of the text in the first extract, for the purpose of establishing the setting and spatial relations of represented participants. The use of medium distances rather than close-ups represents the viewer/reader as not being required or expected to be intimate with the represented participants. In this text the represented participants are effectively "on show", the text is represented as a form of performance in front of an audience. In the construction of the world of the text, intimacy is not required, except on a few occasions when the reaction of a represented participant is shown closely. In this text it is the actions of represented participants that are considered as important as their reactions, opinions or emotions. The representation of distance in the image constructs the represented participants as tied to a specific environment, their respective kitchens, rather than as individuals in their own right.

The use of distance is one means of representing the processes that involve represented participants as separate from the viewer/reader, who is represented as involved only to the extent of being a spectator. The realism of the text, through

the use of distance, defines a world with specific boundaries between participant and audience.

Position/Cant

The image in *Can't Cook Won't Cook* is at all times represented with a level horizon, there is no occasion where there is a tilt or cant in the image. The use of an absolutely level image throughout the text represents the world of the text as secure, controlled and traditional to the extent that the generic conventions of the game/quiz programme are adhered to. In these conventions a canted image would draw attention to the process of production and in the "classical" rules of film and television would require a clear motivation for the viewer/reader to understand its use, such as the subjective view of a represented participant.

Stability

The use of the camera in *Can't Cook Won't Cook* is notable for its overall stability. There is very little instability in the two extracts from this text. In the transcriptions, instability in the camera's image only occurs in **T**1 **S**48 and **T**2 **S**66; in these shots there is slight unsteadiness in, respectively, images of a contestant and the host/chef, and the host/chef by himself. Such a high degree of stability is a signifier of the rigid relationships of the world that is being represented. As I have remarked in relation to *The Bill* in section 6.4, the stability of the image may be used in conjunction with other signifiers to indicate a world

where relationships between represented participants and between the text and the viewer/reader are stable.

The technology generally employed to mount the camera in a studio, and as presumably used in this text, is a "dolly". The stability of the image, produced by the cushioned mounting of the camera, represents that the positioning of the point of view is controlled and potentially unresponsive to sudden changes in the environment. Through the producers' use of stability the viewer/reader is not represented as if observing or participating in unscripted and potentially uncontrolled or chaotic events. Rather the world of the text is constructed as solid and reliable, where the unexpected is most unlikely to occur. The signifiers of stability contribute to the construction of realism as the presentation of events in a secure and consistent environment. As such, stability is one convention of the genres of entertainment and other texts based in a studio.

Movement

Camera movement in the first extract occurs in the shot **T**1 **S**6, where the camera turns to the left slightly. There are a further eight shots in the first extract with slight movement or more substantial movement. In the second extract there is more camera movement with 24 shots that use camera movement that is either movement to the left or to the right. As with the first extract, the movement of the camera in the second extract is either slight or somewhat more substantial. As very slight, the camera movement is along a left-right axis and generally used to re-centre a represented participant that has moved a little from the centre of the

shot. With more substantial movement, the camera follows a represented participant as she or he moves from left to right or right to left behind the kitchen sets. The movement is therefore very largely in one dimension. The duration of the movement in the extracts from *Can't Cook Won't Cook* is not sustained over more than one or two seconds. There is one occasion where the camera moves in towards the represented participants, shot **T**1 **S**56, and another where the camera moves very slightly down, shot **T** 2 **S**61. However these shots are not representative of the use of camera movement in the extracts.

The use of camera movement in mostly one plane represents the position of the viewer/reader as relatively restricted and that the represented participants on the stage set are in one sense "beyond reach" as the camera does not approach them, with the exception of the shot mentioned above where the camera moves towards the host in the introduction. The viewer/reader is held in a position similar to that of the studio audience itself, and therefore the relations between the text and the viewer are also similar: authority and power are represented as resting with the text and specifically the host to a high degree.

Movement/Anthropomorphism

The majority of camera movement may be described as anthropomorphic as it is commensurate with the position and movement of an actual human observer, looking from left to right or vice versa. There is one exception to this, where there is movement from an unanthropomorphic position. The shot **T**2 **S**61 has

camera movement from the position overhead, the camera moving down and to the right as a saucepan is moved from the hob.

Movement/Independence and Dependence

As has been demonstrated above, the movement of the camera in *Can't Cook Won't Cook* is directly related to the movement of the represented participants. The producers of the text use dependency of movement as a signifier to represent the represented participants and their actions as the expected and intended focus for the viewer/readers' interest. The viewer/reader is not represented as if they were an independent observer of events who can move relatively free of restriction.

Continuity

In *Can't Cook Won't Cook* the continuity of the text is closely related to the text's circumstances in a studio. Only one side is made available to the viewer/reader as the studio cameras maintain positions on the "audience" side of the studio and are directed towards the set. The camera never crosses over by moving or being cut to a position that represents the faces of the studio audience. Therefore, the position of the camera throughout the text is one that most often represents the orientation of the studio audience. The exceptions to this being those shots taken from an unanthropomorphic position directly above the kitchen and which represent a culinary aspect of the text.

The dialogue between the first pair of contestant and partner and the host in the shots **T**1 **S**9 to **T**1 **S**26 is represented in a manner that has some similarities with the "classical" form of shot/reverse shot (such as is used in the dialogue sequence described from the second extract of *The Bill* between the police officers and the female witness in **T**2 **S**13 to **T**2 **S**40). The use of editing in this sequence of *Can't Cook Won't Cook* switches the point of view from one camera to another in order to depict the faces of the represented participants engaged in the dialogue, and maintains a point of view from the same side throughout. In this case the camera and resulting point of view do not take up subjective positions (a position the same or close to that of a represented participant), but use positions that would be commensurate with those of members of the studio audience. As I have suggested above, since the viewer/reader is not represented as if in the position of one of the represented participants they are therefore not asked to identify with them directly.

In *Can't Cook Won't Cook* the strict maintenance of continuity in the editing of the shots represents a sharp divide between the represented participants and the audience. The producers of the text make quite clear that the audience both in the studio and the viewer/reader are not participating in or represented as if they were participating in the represented processes, but are merely observing them from the traditional perspective of a theatrical audience. The use of such strict delimitation of roles is representative of the genre of the text, a game show/programme, which is precisely tied to the tradition of theatrical presentation and the social relations that it embodies. This form of continuity is therefore a signifier that the authority of the text rests with the represented participants and

particularly in this case the host. The studio audience and viewer/reader are represented as incidental to the processes of the text, beyond their role as a relatively passive audience. The continuity of point of view is one form that represents these relations in the construction of the text's realism.

Duration

In the first extract of Can't Cook Won't Cook the longest duration of a shot is **T**1 **S**6, at twenty seconds where the host delivers an introductory address to the camera. There is also a shot of eight seconds: **T**1 **S**56, a shot of five seconds **T**1 **S**24, and one of four seconds, **T**1 **S**16. The remaining shots are all below 4 seconds in duration. In the second extract the longest duration of shot is nine seconds in **T**2 **S**9, there are three shots with durations of seven seconds, T2 S17, **T**2 **S**33 and **T**2 **S**68; and two shots with a duration of five seconds and three shots with a duration of four seconds. The remaining shots are all below four seconds in duration.

The duration of shots in *Can't Cook Won't Cook* represents the world of the text as fragmented and fast-paced, rather than as a relatively uninterrupted flow. The use of such short durations of shots by the text's producers is a means of emphasising that the text is "fun", it is entertainment. The viewer/reader is not expected to dwell on the significance of a shot or a represented participant, with the possible exception of the host's introductory address. The viewer/reader is represented as if their attention was only fleeting and not as if they were observing events in a concentrated and serious manner. The frequent use of cuts

also represents the world of the text as heavily mediated by the text's producers. This makes clear the text's construction and direction for the purpose of presenting a "show" to an audience.

Summary

In this analysis of *Can't Cook Won't Cook* I have discussed the signifiers in the categories as described in the methodology chapter. Together the various resources are used by the text's producers to produce signifiers that construct a realism where the represented world is recognised as a performance or show that is conducted in front of an actual audience and involving represented participants acting as themselves. The viewer/reader is represented to a large extent as if they were members of the studio audience in a manner that establishes the role of the audience and the viewer/reader as limited to "watchers of the show". No attempt is made to represent the viewer/reader as if they were an independent presence, or a participant in the events. In the virtual reality of the text, we as viewer/readers are strictly restrained and positioned, limited in how we are expected to conceive of ourselves in relation to the processes and represented participants.

The producers of *Can't Cook Won't Cook* have chosen to construct the text as a traditional text in the genre of studio entertainment. It does therefore represent the roles of represented participants and the audience as precisely defined and organised. It does not attempt to challenge or redefine the conventions of the genre, but effectively maintains the social relations bound up in the occasion. The production of realism is to some extent based on assumptions of who will be

watching the programme. The produces do therefore take account of the position of the text in the television schedule, and their choices represent these assumptions. In this case, *Can't Cook Won't Coo*k was shown in the morning at 10:30. The producers may therefore assume that a daytime audience prefers the representation of a relatively traditional kind of world and realism in a text such as this and within the genres of cookery and quiz/game. The construction of the text's realism precisely encodes this in the use of the specific signifiers I have discussed.

7.3 BBC BREAKFAST NEWS

In the extracts from this text a number of different locations are used as the source of images: The main locations are an outside broadcast in Scotland, the news studio (presumably in London), and filmed reports from Croatia and Russia.

Position

Position/Anthropomorphism

In both extracts from *BBC Breakfast News* the producers of the text position the camera in almost exclusively anthropomorphic positions. The opening shot of the first extract, **T**1 **S**1, depicts a harbour area from the point of view of an observer on the shore. Shot **T**1 **S**4a, from a filmed report, shows an army truck passing on a road from the point of view of a bystander. The position of the point of view that represents the newsreader in the studio, for example **T**1 **S**13, is also anthropomorphic, being at a level height with the newsreader and with direct involvement. A possible exception to the use of anthropomorphic positions in the first extract is the shot **T**1 **S**6. This shot is a highly magnified image of a midge insect. It is a classificational image, drawn and remade from scientific or educational texts. In the second extract the position of shots is exclusively anthropomorphic. From the outside broadcast the first shot of the second extract, **T**2 **S**1, the producers maintain a point of view that is commensurate with an observer present at the scene. The represented participants are depicted from a "human" level. While the position of the camera does vary in this sequence, it

remains anthropomorphic throughout. Shots from the studio in this extract, for example **T**2 **S**15, are also anthropomorphic, taking the same position as the studio shots used in the first extract. From a filmed report, shots of a large hovercraft in Russia in **T**2 **S**18 to **T**2 **S**21 are from positions that are represented as if those of an observer.

As has been demonstrated with other texts examined here, the consistent use of anthropomorphic positions constructs a world that is represented as within the grasp of everyday experience. In the genre of news it has been the case that camera positions are generally anthropomorphic in the studio. This is consistent with a representation of the viewer/reader as if they were an audience in the formal setting of a presentation or lecture. This is one means of signifying that the text is a social occasion staged for the purpose of being shown to an audience and that in this instance what is being depicted should be taken as actual, and as real. In the filmed reports and outside broadcast in this text, the positions of the camera are also anthropomorphic, continuing the use of the signifiers from the studio to the outside world.

The horizontal angle is used in *BBC Breakfast News* to signify the extent to which the viewer/reader is expected to be involved with specific represented participants. The use of a direct angle represents the expectation by the producers of maximum involvement and identification by the viewer/reader with the represented participant(s) (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996).

The position of the camera and resulting point of view in terms of the horizontal plane is also an important signifier in *BBC Breakfast News*. In the first extract the two news presenters in the outside broadcast, as shown in the shot **T**1 **S**2, are represented from a direct, frontal position. The depiction of an individual news presenter is also shown with maximum involvement in the next shot **T**1 **S**3 and in **T**1 **S**5. In the shots of the studio news presenter in the first extract, a quite indirect angle is briefly used in **T**1 **S**13 before a direct angle in **T**1 **S**14. In the shots from the studio in the second extract, **T**2 **S**16 and **T**2 **S**17 the news presenter is represented directly, with maximum involvement. The news presenters are depicted with a direct angle and they are the only represented participants that address the camera directly.

The shots of members of the public in **T**1 **S**8, **T**1 **S**9 and **T**1 **S**10 are from less direct angles and therefore represented with the expectation of less involvement from the viewer/reader. The camera is positioned either to the right as in **T**1 **S**8 or to the left in the other two shots.

In the first shot of the second extract, **T**2 **S**1, the position of the camera represents a line of 3 guests in profile, with the news presenter's body more direct to the camera. In the shots, **T**2 **S**2, **T**2 **S**4, **T**2 **S**6 and **T**2 **S**8 a single guest is represented with a direct angle while in the shots **T**2 **S**6, **T**2 **S**9, **T**2 **S**12 more than one guest is represented directly, with the news presenter(s) in profile. Here, the guest "experts" are also shown with maximum involvement, although they do not address the camera directly.

The members of the public shown in the first extract are not represented with a direct angle and do not address the camera directly. These differences represent the producers' expectation that the viewer/reader will be involved with represented participants according to their status within the text. The news presenters are accorded the highest status through the use of involvement, and the viewer/reader is therefore expected to give them the most attention. The guests, who are also named in on screen captions, are granted some authority by the use of the direct horizontal angle and their opinions are therefore given some weight within the text. The anonymous members of the public, including the Croatian family in shot **T**1 **S**18 represented at an indirect angle, are accorded the least status as signified by the involvement used to represent them. Their status and what they may have to say are therefore represented as marginal.

Position/Distance

The first shot of the first extract, **T**1 **S**1, establishes the location for this sequence of the text with a long shot of the circumstances for the outside broadcast. **T**1 **S**2 establishes the main represented participants in the outside broadcast environment: a mid shot of the two presenters. Here, the producers of *BBC Breakfast News* use distance in order to represent the outside broadcast and the represented participants as if they had a public, rather than private or intimate relationship with the viewer/reader. The shot **T**1 **S**6 represents an image of a midge feeding on skin, and is therefore a close up on a massive scale. The shots **T**1 **S**15, **S**16, **S**17 and **S**22 show a landscape of hills and forests in Croatia in long shot. In the shot **T**1 **S**18 a family in Croatia is shown in long shot and then with

camera movement closer to them, a medium long shot. The shots **T**1 **S**20, **S**21, **S**23 and **S**24 are images of soldiers operating artillery. In these shots the camera is positioned at some distance from the represented participants as long shots and as a medium long shot in **T**1 **S**24. Distance is used in this sequence as one means of signifying that the images represent general concepts as classificational images: the landscape of the war, the victims of the war and the warriors themselves, rather than specific and identified individuals or precise locations. The war is therefore, in these images, presented as an objective, distanced phenomenon.

The first shot of the second extract **T**2 **S**1 shows the news presenter and the three guests in a long shot. The next shot, **T**2 **S**2, is a closer representation of one of the guests in a medium close up. This is followed in the shot **T**2 **S**3 by another long shot of the news presenter and the guests. The guests are shown not so close as to represent the person as an intimate of the viewer/reader, rather they are represented as if social acquaintances. In the first shot of the second sequence, **T**2 **S**15, the news presenter is represented with a medium close up. The distance is also used in **T**2 **S**17 for a similar shot of the news presenter. The third sequence of the second extract is a filmed report from a Russian shipyard, and the producers use an extreme long shot in **T**2 **S**19 and a medium close up in **T**2 **S**20 to represent welders working on a hovercraft. These shots are again classificational images and the welders are not represented as individuals with their own life or interests that are relevant to the viewer/reader.

In both the first and second extracts from BBC Breakfast News the closest that represented participants are depicted is with the distance of medium close up. The use of social rather than intimate distance signifies that producers expect the text to be read as a part of the public sphere of social life and not the account of intimate and personal experiences. As I have discussed above, many images in this text (particularly those from the filmed reports abroad) use distance as one means of representing a classificatory function in the text, as illustration and not as the depiction of specific individuals whose opinions are represented. The realism of the text is constructed to produce a represented world that is held at a distance from the viewer/reader, as if to say that the audience should "stand back" from what is represented and not become personally involved. This is used as a signifier of objectivity in the News, a component of how the genre as a social occasion is represented and its realism is constructed.

Position/Cant

In both extracts from *BBC Breakfast News* there are no occasions where images are canted, the horizon is maintained at a horizontal level. The maintenance of a level horizon is one sign from the traditional conventions of the news genre that represent a social occasion where the world is presented as basically stable and secure.

Stability

In the first extract of *BBC Breakfast News* there is very slight unsteadiness in the shots from the outside broadcast in Scotland. In the shot **T**1 **S**3 of a news presenter, in **T**1 **S**8 of a member of the public and in **T**1 **S**9 of another member of the public. There is also slight unsteadiness in the shot from the filmed report in Croatia of a soldier, **T**1 **S**20. The shots from the same report of an army truck in **T**1 **S**4b, of a soldier firing an artillery weapon in **T**1 **S**21 and of another soldier firing a mortar in **T**1 **S**25 are all unsteady. In the second extract, the shot **T**2 **S**8 of a guest in the outside broadcast and **T**2 **S**20 of Russian welders from the filmed report both have slight unsteadiness.

The producers have used different camera mounting technologies to contribute to the production of stability in the different environments within the text: a dolly in the studio, most likely a tripod in the outside broadcast, and a hand held camera has most probably been used in the Croatian report. The different technologies afford the use of signifiers that the producers consider most appropriate for the different environments and for representing the viewer/readers relationship to them. The studio is represented as the most stable and secure environment as it is used to represent the broadcasting institution itself and the authority of the news as a social occasion. It is a base from which the chaotic world outside is made to make sense by the representatives of the institution. While the outside broadcast is constructed in similar terms to the studio, in terms of the performance and other aspects of the representation of the presenters and guests, in the stability of the images there is a slight variance that signifies that this environment is represented as not as closely controlled and sheltered as the studio. It is represented as if it were one step closer to the everyday world of the viewer/reader. By contrast the

lack of stability in some of the images from Croatia is used to represent it as a world that is in contrast to that of the studio and the outside broadcast, one in which the broadcast institution has less or no control. In those sequences the viewer/reader, rather than being represented as if a member of a kind of theatrical audience, becomes represented as if they were a witness.

Movement

Movement/Anthropomorphism

While there is little movement of the camera in this text, it is anthropomorphic in that it represents movement that is potentially that of an actual observer. The first image of the first extract, **T**1 **S**1, contains a slow camera pan that moves across the Scottish bay on the shore of which the outside broadcast takes place. In the second extract, there is slight movement in the shot **T**2 **S**2 as the camera operator moves the camera to ensure that the represented participant is maintained in the centre of the shot, in this case the shot is of a guest. The camera movement in **T**2 **S**10 is also used to centre the represented participants, here the group of represented participants. In the shot **T**2 **S**11 there is slight movement to the right in order to centre the news presenter as they move a little to the right.

Movement/Independence and dependence

The text positions the viewer/reader within shots as relatively fixed and unmoving, particularly in the studio sequences, which represents them as if they

were a theatrical audience rather than independent witnesses or participants. The re-centring of represented participants by slight movements of the camera represents the importance of framing to the producers of the text. Keeping represented participants in the centre of the frame signifies that they are expected to be the centre of attention for viewer/readers. The centre of the frame represents that which the producers consider the "nucleus of the information" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, 206). The use of framing and centring signifies that the text's producers wish to represent the text as formally precise, that these sequences in the text have been composed and planned, and that what the "talking heads" say is of central importance to the viewer/reader.

Continuity

Throughout *BBC Breakfast News* the classical conventions of continuity are maintained: the position of the camera does not cross a 180° line between shots, so that the point of view remains consistently on one side of the represented participants. In the outside broadcast the represented participants are again viewed consistently from one side of a line, so their front or side is visible. Changes in the position of the camera, when representing the same represented participants, are of an angle greater than 30°. This also conforms to classical conventions of continuity editing by representing changes of point of view as motivated rather than seemingly arbitrary.

The producers' use of traditional conventions in the editing of the text represents the spatial relations between the represented participants as consistent and in the

studio and outside broadcast locates the viewer/reader as if they were positioned in a similar manner to a theatrical audience: always facing the represented participants' front. Such positions of the point of view do not represent the events as occurring "naturally" or without interference from the text's producers, but rather as staged. Traditional conventions of continuity construct the world of the text as relatively authoritative in relation to the viewer/reader, as the viewer/reader is represented as restricted, through the 180° rule to one set of points of view. The observance of the 30° rule avoids any cuts that are represented as unmotivated and therefore not precisely planned and controlled by the texts producers, the realism of the text and its social world as represented by the editing is carefully planned, predictable and smoothly continuous rather than fragmented or unpredictable.

Duration

In the first extract of *BBC Breakfast News* the shot **T**1 **S**13 is 25 seconds in duration where a news presenter addresses the camera directly. Shot **T**1 **S**2 of the news presenters in the outside broadcast is 20 seconds in duration. The shot **T**2 **S**17 is 27 seconds of a news presenter addressing the camera directly in the London studio. The position of the point of view and the duration of the shot are closely related: the shots with maximum involvement of a news presenter are those of the longest duration. The direct address to the viewer/reader is given a form of prominence in terms of the duration of shots.

The shots from the filmed report in Croatia are of relatively short duration; **T**1 **S**20 to **T**1 **S**25 are between 1 and 3 seconds in duration. The shots of members of the public expressing opinions, **T**1 **S**8, **T**1 **S**9 and **T**1 **S**10 are between 3 and 7 seconds in duration. The shots from the filmed report in Russia, **T**2 **S**18 to **T**2 **S**21, are between 8 seconds at the longest and 3 seconds at the shortest. These shots of represented participants were there is some detachment and an absence of the news presenters, such as the filmed reports from Croatia and Russia and the opinions of members of the public, are of much shorter duration than those of the news presenters. The shots of named guest "experts" are longer: **T**2 **S**10 of the three guests in the outside broadcast is 21 seconds, the shot **T**2 **S**2 of one of the guests speaking is 17 seconds, and the shot **T**2 **S**1 is 16 seconds, of the three guests and the news presenter. The shots were the viewer/reader is addressed directly by news presenters are represented as most significant in terms of their duration, where viewer/readers are fixed in a single point of view for the longest time. The producers of the text may expect the viewer/reader to pay most attention to these sequences.

As a resource, the duration of shots allows the producers to represent the world with signifiers of various degrees of mediation and authority. In this text, the direct address to the audience by the news presenters is represented as the least mediated and most authoritative aspect of the text. It is a means of representing the news as a matter of personal communication between the presenter and the viewer/reader, as if it were done with a minimum of interference. The shots from the filmed reports, being consistently shorter in duration are represented with signifiers of greater mediation.

Summary

The separate locations in the extracts of *BBC Breakfast News* are represented with different uses of semiotic resources to produce different environments and different relations. I will distinguish between different represented worlds: the studio, outside broadcast and the filmed reports.

In the studio sequences the realism is constructed to represent the world at a most authoritative level. The viewer/reader is represented as taking the point of view of a member of an audience rather than that of a participant or observer. Other signifiers in the studio sequences also represent the viewer/reader as an addressee: a direct horizontal angle is used with the direct address of the news presenter and the longest duration of shots in the extracts. The producers' use of "classical" rules of continuity and the stability of the images also contribute to the representation of authority by representing the world of the studio as predictable, secure and reliable.

In the outside broadcast sequences, the producers use similar signifiers to those used in the studio, though with some variations. The image is mostly stable though with some slight unsteadiness, possibly brought about through the use of a tripod rather than a dolly. The position of the point of view in terms of distance and horizontal angle is roughly the same as in the studio, and the continuity of shots follows the same "classical" rules. In terms of realism, the Scottish lakeside is used as an extension of the studio in London, as the same forms are applied to

both locations. Both worlds are represented as ordered and hierarchical with precise roles for represented participants. The viewer/reader is represented as fixed and relatively immobile, as if part of an audience rather than an observer/witness. In each case the text is represented as authoritative with the maintenance of traditional social relations for the genre of News. More generally, the environment as part of "Scottish Week" provides a location that is closer to the real world of the viewer/reader than a studio, though it has imposed upon it, through the use of the signifiers I have discussed, quite similar relations between the represented participants and the viewer/reader.

The filmed reports, particularly that from Croatia, are represented as being different worlds from those of the studio and the outside broadcast. The represented participants are shown at an angle that represents detachment, and the shots have shorter durations than those in the studio and outside broadcast. There are images in the recorded sequences that are more unstable than those in the studio or outside broadcast. The lack of stability may be due to the use of a hand held camera in these circumstances and therefore the use of signifiers to represent the events as immediate and uncertain. By comparison to the stability in the images of the studio, the filmed reports are expected to be understood as from a relatively unpredictable and chaotic environment that is in contrast to the security and reliability of the broadcasting institution's own locations.

The producers of *BBC Breakfast News* use signifiers to represent the world of the studio with the greatest authority, this is contrasted with the construction of a different realism for the filmed report in Croatia, where signifiers are used to

represent the outside environment as much more unpredictable and unsafe. The outside broadcast is represented as if to some extent the relations of the studio had been imposed on the Scottish lakeside and this part of the "outside world" has become integrated with the "inside world" of the studio.

7.4 CHANNEL 5 NEWS

Position

Position/Anthropomorphism

In the first shot of the first extract, **T**1 **S**1, in the introduction to the News and in the environment of the Channel 5 News studio the camera points upwards to a television screen before moving to a mid shot of the news presenter, taking an anthropomorphic position as if that of an actual observer in the studio.

In a brief preview of a report on music in supermarkets, the point of view of the shot **T**1 **S**3 is from inside the front of a shopping trolley looking forward and is therefore not anthropomorphic. The placement of a camera in a shopping trolley, as if it were concealed, is a signifier drawn from "undercover" investigations in documentaries. It's use here is comparable to similar points of view in *Mersey Blues*; the shots **T**1 **S**17, **S**18 and **S**19 from that text represent the police officers in a nightclub from what appears to be a hidden camera. The use of signifiers drawn from documentary texts in this text may be an attempt to represent the news as more accessible to the viewer/reader. This is done by using techniques drawn from another genre, that represents the viewer/reader as if directly involved in a story.

In another preview on a report to changes in Parliament, there are shots of the House of Commons taken from above the floor and looking down at the

represented participants. The view of MPs in the House of Commons is from high above the benches, looking down on members of the parliament, as if perhaps from the public gallery. The viewer/reader is represented as if an observer at some distance from the proceedings and not as if a participant. The position of the camera in this environment has been dictated by the members of the House of Commons themselves rather than the text's producers, according to rules laid down when broadcasting was first allowed in 1985. Television coverage of the proceedings of the Houses of Parliament is strictly controlled by Parliament, including the position of cameras and their movement.

The shots **T**1 **S**5, **S**6 and **S**7 of Prince Charles and the Spice Girls are positioned from the point of view of an observer standing close by and are anthropomorphic. The shot **T**1 **S**22 from the report on changes to proceedings in the House of Commons is of a man with parliamentary papers and is also taken from an anthropomorphic position, a point of view looking over his shoulder. The shots of Margaret Beckett and John Redwood being interviewed in **T**1 **S**21 and **S**27 are also from points of view that are anthropomorphic, from the point of view of a person interviewing them.

In the filmed report on motorbikes, the position of shot **T**2 **S**13 is anthropomorphic and may be considered as subjective in that it represents the point of view of a motorcycle rider looking down at the revolution counter and therefore represents the viewer/reader as if they were a participant themselves. The shot **T**2 **S**15 represents the position of a pillion passenger on a motorcycle, looking behind them, and also depicts the viewer/reader as a participant in the

report. The shot **T**2 **S**26 represents a hand turning the motorcycle throttle from the point of view of the rider.

The shots **T**2 **S**17, **S**26, **S**28 and **S**30 take up unanthropomorphic positions, close to the ground looking up at represented participants from an angle of about 45°. The vertical angle (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, 146) is employed by the text's producers to signify differential power relationships between viewer/readers and represented participants. By representing the motorcycle and rider from a low angle the producers may wish to represent them as symbolically powerful and glamorous. Such signifiers are drawn and remade from entertainment texts or motoring programmes. The use of a low angle in a factual report signifies an evaluation rather than a more usual neutral or equal level position traditionally used in news texts: the motorcycle and rider are represented as in some sense superior to or of special interest and attention to the viewer/reader.

The use of some unanthropomorphic points of views in *Channel 5 News* contrasts with the use of entirely anthropomorphic positions in *BBC Breakfast News*. The producers of *Channel 5 News* use this resource to produce a realism that is involving the viewer in a manner that defies more traditional news conventions. Rather than depicting events as if observed by the news team, the report on motorcycles is represented as having been directly produced by them and that the events are therefore represented as staged to some extent rather than as if witnessed and happening independently.

In terms of the angle of involvement in *Channel 5 News*, its use varies between direct frontal shots of news presenters and indirect shots. In the first shot of the first extract in the news studio at the beginning of the news bulletin, **T**1 **S**1, the horizontal angle of the image of news presenter is not precisely frontal. This follows movement of the camera away from a close up of a television screen. The shot **T**1 **S**8 of the news presenter in the studio is direct while the following shot of the political editor, **T**1 **S**9, is not precisely frontal. In the shots of a conversation between the news presenter and political editor in the studio, **T**1 **S**31 and **T**1 **S**32, the angle is not to their front. The shots of politicians being interviewed in their offices represents them with less than direct frontal angles: Margaret Beckett in **T**1 **S**21 and John Redwood in **T**1 **S**27

In the second extract the shot of the news presenter in the news studio, **T**2 **S**12, is not quite directly frontal. In the filmed report on motorcycles, the reporter is represented with a less than direct frontal angle in the shot **T**2 **S**16. In other shots from the motorcycle report **T**2 **S**18, **S**22 and **S**31 both the reporter and guest are represented with less than direct frontal angles as they are both turned only somewhat towards the camera.

The use of involvement in *Channel 5 News* is not precisely regulated or allied specifically to the depiction of represented participants' status as is the case in *BBC Breakfast News*. The presenters and reporters are not consistently represented with direct, frontal angles and maximum involvement, and therefore distinctions between them and other represented participants, such as guests, are to some extent blurred. While there is a hierarchy within the representation of

participants, as for example only news presenters are depicted with maximum involvement, the hierarchy is not as clear and precisely defined as it is in *BBC Breakfast News*. This is one means of constructing a realism for the world of *Channel 5 News* that is relatively informal and viewer/readers are not addressed from an entirely authoritative position. This marks a departure from traditional texts in genre of the news, where signifiers of formality such as direct, frontal horizontal angles are a key indicator of the text's authority.

Position/Distance

In the first extract of *Channel 5 News* the distance of the point of view from represented participants begins in **T**1 **S**1 as a close up of a television screen in the news studio before the camera moves to a mid shot of the news presenter. The position of the camera and its proximity to the television screen in the studio represents the viewer /reader as if present in the studio and close to the process of news production itself.

In the studio shot **T**1 **S**9 there is a medium close up of the political editor, there is also a medium close up of Margaret Beckett in an office in the shot **T**1 **S**21 and a medium close up of a man consulting parliamentary order papers in **T**1 **S**22. Other shots of represented participants in this extract are at a greater distance. There are longer shots used in an extreme long shot in **T**1 **S**2 of Italian protesters, and a long shot of the news reporter in **T**1 **S**8.

In the second extract from *Channel 5 News* there are close ups of a number of objects but not of specific represented participants. In the report on motorcycles, the shots **T2 S20** and **T2 S21** are close ups of a motorcycle headlight, in the shot **T2 S25** there is a close up of a motorcycle throttle being turned and in **T2 S30** there is a shot of a foot on a motorcycle starter. The close ups used in the motorcycle report suggest that the producers of the text expect such images of objects to be appealing to the viewer/reader, in a similar way to such images in motoring programmes for example.

The use of close ups in the extracts from *Channel 5 News* is restricted to objects, such as the motorcycle headlight, as there are no close ups of represented participants. The closest distance used in an image of represented participants is medium close up. Represented participants are depicted as part of the public domain, as if the viewer/reader were not expected to relate to them on an intimate level. The close ups of motorcycle headlights and a motorcycle are classificational images, representing the theme of the filmed report rather than items that are newsworthy in themselves. In the depiction of represented participants in the second extract, the closest shots are medium close ups. From a brief filmed report, there is a MCU of former African leader Laurent Kabila in the shot **T2 S2**, there is a MCU of the news presenter in the studio in **T2 S12**. From a report on Northern Ireland, there is a MCU in the shot **T2 S7** of a man's photograph and in **T2 S28** a medium close up of a policeman. There are mid shots of a woman and child in a filmed report on ice cream in the shots **T2 S9** and two women and a child in **T2 S10** and a mid shot of a man and then of the woman and child in **T2 S11**.

Longer shots in this extract include a medium long shot in the studio of the news presenter, in shot **T**2 **S**1, a long shot in **T**2 **S**3 of President Mobutu, an extreme long shot of the reporter and expert in **T**2 **S**17 from the report on motorcycles and a medium long shot of a police car moving through a crowd in **T**2 **S**32. The long shots of the news presenter in the studio and the reporter in the filmed report on motorcycles represent the environment of the represented participants as important, here the news studio and the motorcycle showroom. As with *BBC Breakfast News*, the producers of this text mostly use the distance that represents participants as if social acquaintances rather than intimates.

Position/Cant

In the first extract of *Channel 5 News*, while a number of images are unsteady, a relatively level horizon is maintained in the images. In the second extract a number of shots have a cant in the image where the horizon is tilted to a degree. In the shot **T**2 **S**1 in the news studio, while the point of view is direct to the presenter there is a small degree of cant to the right. In the report on motorcyclists there is a greater degree of cant in the shots **T**2 **S**20, **T**2 **S**27 and **T**2 **S**29.

The use of canted images in the second extract is a means of representing the world of the text as if it were deviating from a "normal" view of the everyday world. In conjunction with the resource of point of view in the use of low angles, the canting in the report on motorcycles seeks to represent the report as different

from the standard form of news reports. A horizon that is tilted represents the viewer/reader as if they were taking an unusual perspective on the depicted events. The canting of the image is a signifier drawn from film and other television texts and remade by the producers in the context of the genre of television news in order to distinguish this text from more conventional and traditional texts within the news genre. In contrast to conventions that represent the news as stable, both in the literal terms of the use of a stable, level camera and in the continued adherence to conventions of production, the canted image represents the news not as if it were simply the authoritative and objective telling of facts but moves it more towards entertainment and aesthetics. Such a move represents a belief that there have been changes in what audience's consider as their relationship to the News and changes in wider social relations. There is an attempt by the producers of this text to recognise and incorporate these changes by producing a realism where the represented world and the viewer/reader's place in it are presented as more entertaining and informal than in other news texts.

Stability

In the first extract, the first shot **T**1 **S**1, of a television screen and then the news presenter is unsteady. There is also unsteadiness in the shot **T**1 **S**2 from a filmed report and slight unsteadiness in **T**1 **S**7 of Prince Charles and the Spice Girls. There is slight unsteadiness in the images of the news presenter in the shots **T**1 **S**8 and in **T**1 **S**31.

In the second extract, the shot of the former Zaire leader Laurent Kabila in **T**2 **S**2 is unsteady, the following shot, **T**2 **S**3, of President Mobuto is also unsteady. In the filmed report on motorcycles, the shot **T**2 **S**16 in a showroom is unsteady. In the same report the shot **T**2 **S**22 of the reporter and guest is unsteady, the shot **T**2 **S**23, a medium close up of a motorcycle is slightly unsteady and **T**2 **S**28 and **T**2 **S**29 of an interview are both unsteady.

The instability and movement (as is described below) of images in the studio in these extracts indicate the likelihood that a hand held camera was used for those shots. The use of this specific technology as a resource is, as I have suggested above, remade from documentary texts and indicates that the text's producers wish to draw on meanings from the documentary genre. The instability of the images represents the potential for movement and of reacting to unexpected events, as if the circumstances of the text were not precisely organised and controlled. The studio environment is not constructed as if it were a secure world that is contrasted with an insecure "outside" world as depicted in filmed reports. The similarity of stability in the different environments represents them both as of similar status: one is not represented as being more authoritative than the other, by virtue of being represented as more stable and controlled.

The representation of the news studio with instability is a departure from traditional conventions of the news and its realism, and signifies a shift in the social relations of the occasion itself, as an interaction between the broadcasting institution and the viewer/reader. The producers of *Channel 5 News* use instability as one resource for constructing a world where the viewer/reader is

represented not if they were a member of a fixed audience being addressed by an authoritative figure but more towards the viewer/reader being represented as an observer of the news themselves, as if they were taking a more active part in the process of the news itself. The use of instability in *Channel 5 News* contrasts sharply with the realism of *BBC Breakfast News* where the viewer/reader is represented as much more limited and less dynamic in their relationship to the represented world.

Movement

Movement/Anthropomorphism

While the majority of camera movement is anthropomorphic and consistent on some occasions with the use of a hand held camera (such as in the first sequence in the first extract, **T**1 **S**1) there is an exception in the shot **T**1 **S**3 where the camera is placed inside a shopping trolley as the trolley moves along a supermarket aisle, Here, the movement and unanthropomorphic position of the camera in the trolley represents the report as an "undercover operation", not following a particular individual but "investigating" the selling of wine in the supermarket.

Movement/Independence and dependence

In the first extract of *Channel 5 News* there is independent movement of the camera in the first shot, **T**1 **S**1, where the camera moves sharply to the left from a

television screen in the studio to the news presenter. In **T**1 **S**8 the camera at first moves towards the news presenter and then moves left and back a little as the news presenter moves to the left. In the shot **T**2 **S**12 the camera moves independently towards the news presenter in the studio. The movement of the camera and its unsteadiness indicates that there was use of a handheld camera both in the studio and in filmed reports, combined with the use of a tripod or dolly where there is stability and little or no camera movement. As I have discussed in Chapter 4, the handheld camera allows the producers to represent the viewer/reader as if they were more active and independent than, for example, when represented as if part of a traditional theatrical audience where the point of view is stable and unmoving. In particular, the use of a handheld camera and independent movement in some studio sequences of this text represent a shift towards the construction of the viewer/reader as if an observer or witness to the process of the construction of the news, rather than as a passive recipient of an institution's own version of it.

From the filmed report on motorcycles, in the shot **T**2 **S**15 the camera is positioned at the back of a moving vehicle, as it depicts motorcycles following behind. In the following shot **T**2 **S**16 in a motorcycle showroom, the camera moves left dependent on the movement of the reporter, then moves closer to the reporter and finally in this shot the camera moves to the right a little. In **T**2 **S**22 the camera firstly turns quickly and independently to the left, then moves towards the reporter and to the left a little and then in again. In **T**2 **S**26 the camera moves up slightly as a motorcycle and rider emerge from a workshop and in **T**2 **S**28 the camera moves back and then up when showing a police detective. The final

camera movement in this extract is in shot **T2 S32** where the camera moves to the right, dependent on the movement of a police car. In this report the combination of independent and dependent movement represents the viewer/reader as neither a fully independent witness nor a member of a relatively passive audience.

In contrast to *BBC Breakfast News* where the studio sequences and filmed reports are clearly demarcated through the use of contrasting signifiers, such as stability/instability, in *Channel 5 News* there is no such separation. The producers of *Channel 5 News* represent the world of the studio as more similar to that of the outside world. In doing so, the television studio is not represented as a more secure or rarefied environment to that of the world of events. In terms of realism, the studio is therefore constructed as if it were close to the everyday world of the viewer/reader in a similar way to a documentary text and not as a formal and institutionally powerful location as is the case in traditional News texts.

Continuity

The relationship between shots in *Channel 5 News* follows the traditional forms of continuity. The position of the camera is maintained on one side of the nominal 180° line, this ensures that the point of view in the studio represents the news presenters against a backdrop set of screens and journalistic activity. That is, the representation of the point of view of an audience, rather than of a participant in the making of the news text. The same continuity is maintained in filmed reports and the spatial relations between represented participants are kept

consistent through the use of continuity editing. Throughout the extracts, the editing conforms to the 30° rule of changing the point of view substantially between shots.

In terms of the resource of continuity, the producers of *Channel 5 News* choose to maintain the traditional conventions for the news in terms of the relations between the text and the viewer/reader. The point of view in the studio replicates that of the theatre, to the extent that the represented participants are continuously depicted from one side in a staged environment. While the use of some forms, such as stability and movement, differ from those used in the more formal news programme *BBC Breakfast News*, the use of continuity is the same in both texts.

Duration

The first shot in the first extract, **T**1 **S**1, of the news presenter in the studio is 10 seconds in duration and a similar shot, **T**1 **S**4, is 9 seconds. In the first extract the shot with longest duration is **T**1 **S**9 at 26 seconds, of the political editor addressing the camera from the initial sequence in the studio. The shot **T**1 **S**8 is 18 seconds in duration, of the news presenter and political editor. In the second extract the studio sequence again contains the shot of longest duration, **T**2 **S**12, at 23 seconds. The producers use the resource of duration to represent the environment of the studio as the most continuous and least mediated, it is here that the viewer/reader is expected to focus their attention most precisely, as the news presenter or news editor are addressing them directly. It is in these shots

that the represented participant is represented with the most authority as their address is not fragmented or disrupted.

Of the images in this sequence that represent the viewer/reader as a participant: the revolution counter in **T**2 **S**13 is 1 second, the point of view from the rear seat, **T**2 **S**15 is 2 seconds and motorbike throttle, **T**2 **S**25 is 1 second. These subjective images are relatively brief and represent these points of view as one form of innovation and informality in the news report, but not a predominant one.

The shot **T**2 **S**10 is particularly brief, at 1/24 of a second or one frame, and is invisible when the text is viewed at normal speed. This very brief shot of one frame is probably the result of an error in editing the text, and unnoticeable to the viewer/reader. Nevertheless, at this level of investigation it represents the text as disjointed and constructed without precision in at least one aspect of its technical features.

Summary

In this section I have discussed the specific use of some signifiers that producers have used to represent the realism of *Channel 5 News* as distinct within the genre of British television news. The particular features that I have drawn attention to include the position of the point of view, the mixture of anthropomorphic and unanthropomorphic positions, the angles of power and involvement; the stability of the image inside the studio and in filmed reports; the movement of the camera; and the continuity and duration of shots.

The innovative use of signifiers drawn from a range of non-news texts and remade here suggest not only a move away from traditional forms of the news genre but therefore a differing conception of the role of the News in presenting reality to the viewer/reader. The mixing of documentary and entertainment forms represents the viewer/reader as if requiring more than, or an alternative to, the traditional voice of authority to hold their attention and for them to recognise the world of the text as compatible with the reality of their own world. As the social relations between institutions and agents have changed, the forms used to represent the social world can be changed by producers of texts who wish to construct realisms that they consider more closely represents the social reality of their prospective audience. As such the realism of *Channel 5 News* represents a social reality where relations are less secure and the agent is potentially more powerful in its dealings with authority.

The changing relations of social reality ensure that the social occasions that are represented in texts change too. The generic forms of texts and the conventions associated with them are therefore constantly shifting. *Channel 5 News* demonstrates the process of generic change quite clearly. It points to a transition between the genre of news being based on the authority of the broadcasting institution and the viewer/reader represented as relatively passive (as is represented in the realism of the extracts used here from *BBC Breakfast News*) to the news being based more on the representation of the viewer/reader as if more actively engaged with the represented world, both inside and outside of the studio.

7.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the news programmes *BBC Breakfast News* and *Channel 5 News*, and the cookery/game programme *Can't Cook Won't Cook*. These texts have been grouped together in this chapter as examples of studio based programmes,

As these texts are based in a studio and are represented as real environments where the represented participants are acting as themselves they share the use of certain signifiers and the realism that this implies. The forms chosen by producers in genres that predominantly use a studio have tended to represent the viewer/reader as if a member of a theatrical audience, that is relatively fixed in place and viewing events from one side. This signifies a relationship of authority to the viewer/reader where the events of the text are given institutional power. In this chapter I have discussed how the producers of the cookery/game programme *Can't Cook Won't Cook* use signifiers that represent the traditional conventions of studio texts, as the viewer/reader is mostly addressed as if part of a theatrical audience. The realism of this text represents the world as stable, with fixed relationships between participants: both represented and interactive (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, 46). The depicted events are presented to the viewer/reader as if already organised and prepared without their involvement.

The comparison of the two news programmes demonstrates how conventions in the representation of generic texts can change. The use of signifiers remade from documentary and other texts in *Channel 5 News* indicates a desire on the part of

its producers to represent the world of the text in a different manner from more traditional news programmes like *BBC Breakfast News*. In the realism of *Channel 5 News* the viewer/reader is represented as if engaging with the text in a relatively active way and not as if solely part of a passive audience. The world of this text is therefore constructed as more open and accessible than that of news texts where the authority of the broadcasting institution is represented as central. By drawing on forms from documentary and entertainment texts, the producers of *Channel 5 News* are assuming that the audience is willing to be addressed in a different manner from more traditional news texts, indeed they are addressing the audience as if it were substantially different from that of other, more traditional, news programmes. The position of Channel 5 as a relatively new terrestrial broadcaster has allowed it a degree of freedom to defy conventions and address a different audience then other more established institutions.

Here then, the change in the use of forms within a genre are clearly visible, the conventions of a particular period are being challenged and may in time be replaced. As I have suggested above, the shift in the representation of viewer/readers from a relatively passive (mass) audience to more active observers or participants within the environment of a text, especially in a genre of texts such as the news where formality has been an important factor, indicates important changes in relations within British society. The meaning and role of the news and its relations as a social occasion can be seen to be shifting: from an authoritative exposition of events considered to be important to a more entertainment based magazine style text. The use of forms that are different from generic tradition by the producers of *Channel 5 News* suggests that they believe the attention of the

audience to the news can no longer be taken for granted but must be fought over as with any other programme in the schedule. This is represented as an appeal to a different (perhaps younger) audience than that of *BBC Breakfast News* or *Can't Cook Won't Cook*, where the expected audience for those texts may accept being placed in a represented world where tradition and authority are still considered important.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I will draw together the analysis of the previous two chapters and my theoretical and methodological framework to offer a final consideration of what they demonstrate about a semiotic approach to television realism. I will also be offering some suggestions which I believe would be productive for future research in this area. The areas I discuss are divided into three sections: Multimodality, historical analysis and ethnographic/phenomenological.

8.1 REALISM AND TELEVISION

This thesis has sought to examine how some specific semiotic resources are used to create television realisms as represented worlds. From the initial research question based on a reconceptualisation of realism I have transcribed and analysed the position, movement and stability of the camera and consequent point of view along with the continuity of editing and the duration of shots in 12 extracts from 6 television texts. A focus on a relatively small number of semiotic resources has allowed for the detailed comparison of television texts and of the social occasions they represent.

I have posited that each television text is a representation of a social occasion and its social and cultural context. Furthermore, the text also represents the interests of the producers within their institutional frameworks and is constructed through the use of the specific semiotic resources available to the medium, in this case television. As a represented world the text has a particular realism, which as one aspect represents the place of the viewer/reader in the specific way that the producers consider appropriate to the social occasion. Texts that represent

similar social occasions may share the conventions of the genre. The producers may be more or less traditional in the way in which conventional sets of forms are used, according to their interests and their assumptions of the audience.

Overall, it has been my desire in this thesis to change the debate around television realism to include a semiotic approach where resources are used to construct a represented or virtual world that addresses and involves the viewer/reader in a particular way. A semiotic approach, as one that crucially connects meaning with the social environment of texts, allows realism to become a means for analysing the interaction between texts and the social reality of viewer/readers.

The process of developing a means of answering the research questions set out at the beginning of this project has been an enlightening one. Those questions are: (1) how can semiotic theories assist in reconceptualising television realism? (2) What are the specific resources (or modes) used in television production that could be analysed and (3) what is the meaning of the form of television texts in relation to the social world?

I believe that these questions have been properly addressed in this thesis and that the answers can be summarised as follows:

(1) The semiotic theories that I have drawn upon offer the potential to consider television realism as the construction of a represented world that is produced through the use of specific semiotic resources. These resources are used in relation to sets of conventions specific to social occasions (genres), and the

interests of text producers in representing the social world in a particular way and to a specific conception of the audience. In particular I have focused on point of view, continuity and duration as important aspects of the realism of the text: how the viewer/reader is represented in relation to and involved with the depicted events (content) of that world.

(2) A semiotic approach to television realism demonstrates the meaning making potential that is available to all the modes or resources in a text. This thesis has only been able to consider a small number of them, including the duration and continuity of shots and the position and movement of the camera and resulting point of view. Other resources such as sound, colour and performance are just as crucial to the full understanding of realism but it has not been possible to consider them here. I wish to contend that the principle of multimodality in television realism has at the least begun to be explored here. My conclusion is that the affordance of different modes to construct realisms are used in conjunction with one another in the process of constructing the realism of a text and the conception of the world that it represents.

(3) This thesis has demonstrated that the form of television texts is the crucial factor in their representation of the social world, and in their involvement of the viewer/reader within it. The representation of authority and relationships to everyday experience have been demonstrated as key aspects of a text's realism and are constructed through all the available semiotic resources. In this way, realism is fundamentally connected to ideological issues such as the distribution of social power and its communication and maintenance.

Through a detailed preliminary examination of the texts, I developed a set of categories for transcription that dealt with signifiers that I considered important in the construction of realism, though this was by no means an exclusive set. These categories were based on the theoretical foundation as outlined in the theory chapters, and then refined in their application for the specific purpose and requirements of this work. The transcription itself involved the development of a method to precisely pinpoint the use of specific signifiers and record their location in the sample text for use in the analysis that followed.

In my analysis I have demonstrated that the television text's producers use semiotic resources to represent the involvement of viewer/readers in particular ways: as active participants in the world of the text, as witnesses or bystanders to events or as members of a relatively passive audience group. The manner in which viewer/readers are represented as if agents in the world of the text is important to how I have defined and reconceptualised realism. It is my contention that a television text engages and involves the viewer/reader through its realism and that the text is understood and made meaningful in relation to the viewer/readers own experiences and interaction in everyday life, or to use Schutz's (1972) term, in their "paramount reality".

As the relations that exist in a society change, the forms that are used to represent that society change too. The realism of television texts is therefore in a constant process of change, with the producers of texts choosing whether to accept changes in conventions and audiences, being perhaps innovatory in the use of

forms, or to maintain the traditional use of forms and support the relationships they represent. In the texts I have discussed, the comparison between *BBC Breakfast News* and *Channel 5 News* best indicates how producers may represent the world with different modes of authority and the represented relations between the text and the viewer/reader that this entails. In the analysis of *The Bill* and *Homicide: Life on the Street*, the different use of semiotic resources in the representation of a similar theme, police work in a modern city, indicates how the cultural context has a substantial impact on television realism. This points to how the production of a represented "world" on television involves the use of forms as much as "content" to represent social reality to the extent that the viewer/reader finds the television world familiar to their own social and cultural location. This necessitates a dialogic relation between the producers and the audience in that the television text and specifically its realism are orientated to a particular conception of the viewer/reader it is addressing.

I hope that this thesis has opened up the possibility of using theories of realism as a means for the semiotic examination of television texts and the relationships between texts and viewer/readers. It is therefore possible to consider realism in a wider sense than has been used before as a property of all texts and not just as a single set of forms, as all texts represent and re-construct the social reality of everyday life in some particular way. As it is the case that how the world is experienced and made meaningful in social reality through the structures of social occasions is constantly changing, so too must the texts that represent it to audiences. The examination of semiotic resources used as signifiers in (in this case) television texts as social data can be a precise way of cataloguing and

examining this ongoing phenomenon. This thesis does therefore offer further evidence of a direct connection between the changing use of signifiers in texts and the changing relations and construction of authority in a society and culture. This suggests that the concept of motivation in the production of signifiers and their reading as signifieds is useful in that the social environment and the interest of producers in taking up a specific position within that environment is always a central factor in the production of texts.

While I have discussed the use of different semiotic resources as modes that are used together in the construction of a television text's realism, I have not engaged with the notion of multimodality as much as might have been possible. While this thesis has been completed over some time, developments in the theory and practice of multimodality have been occurring at a rapid pace. Not the least of these developments have been van Leeuwen (1991, 1999) and Kress and van Leeuwen (2001). I feel that, had it been possible, a more detailed application of multimodal theory would have benefited the analysis of realism in television texts.

8.2 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

I would like in the future to be able to expand the work in this project particularly in terms of multimodality. While I have considered some of the resources that are used to construct realism in a television text, there are other forms of semiotic material that would need to be analysed to provide a much fuller understanding of how a particular form of realism is produced and understood by viewer/readers.

This might include sound, in terms of spoken dialogue, ambient sounds and music, colour as in the colour of sets and props and overall colour of the television image, the performance of represented participants as expressed in gesture, posture, expression and intonation of speech. The inclusion of other resources in an analysis and their comparison between texts and genres could further an understanding not only of the texts themselves but also the relationship between texts and viewer/readers. It is my contention that the examination of a range of modes would further demonstrate the connections between social change and change in realism as a representation of social reality. A more detailed examination of the multimodal structure of television might use the framework and categories laid out in Kress and van Leeuwen (2001). From this, more emphasis could be placed on the use of a range of representational resources brought together in the *design* of a television or other kind of moving image text: how different modes are combined in a purposeful scheme. Research in the classroom use of moving images and written texts such as Oldham et al. (2001) and Burn and Parker (2002) demonstrates the educational potential of considering how modes combine together and the use of design as a concept for analysing the process of creating texts.

A detailed historical comparison between the realism of television texts within the same genre would be useful in showing how change in society is represented in the changing use of forms in television over time. I would be curious to know whether some genres change faster than others in the use of particular resources and what this suggested about a particular culture. In this project the changes in the genre of news within British television as seen in the samples from the texts

BBC Breakfast News and *Channel 5 News* go some way to show how such changes might occur. The television news from 15 or 20 years ago would provide a useful basis for comparison with today's news. A diachronic study of a socially valued television text such as the news would suggest the extent to which representations of authority and institutional power have changed as relations in society itself have changed.

Other kinds of comparisons are also possible, with a cross-cultural analysis being potentially most rewarding. Work such as Oyama (2000) has demonstrated that the use of visual signifiers is fundamentally affected by cultural locations and histories, and therefore a detailed analysis of television texts from different cultures could elaborate on the very tentative work done here with *The Bill* and *Homicide: Life on the Street* in understanding how values and relationships are represented and maintained in different cultures within the representation of particular themes. I would suggest that there would be a number of differences in the use of semiotic resources that represent different relations between social groups and relations of authority from culture to culture. A semiotic analysis of television texts would therefore provide a tool for the consideration of cultures and relationships between cultures. Suitable questions might be: "to what extent are television forms imported or imposed from one culture to another and how are they transformed in the process?" and "Which specific forms and therefore realisms are most likely to be used across cultures?"

Finally, an examination of Television realism could be extended by drawing on accounts of how members of the audience, the viewer/readers themselves, relate

to different kinds of virtual worlds and their awareness of the forms that are used in texts. Such data might expand on the understanding of how the viewer/reader is involved in the text. This would better inform a phenomenological approach that sought to examine how viewer/readers feel involved in the world of the text and the meaning of various forms of the representation of presence in the virtual television world. While I have touched on this issue in my thesis, there are connections that could be made with the phenomenological investigation of presence in other kinds of virtual worlds such as cyberspace. On the other side, as it were, the producers of the texts could also be interviewed on issues around the choices of forms used in production and to what extent these choices are determined by institutional requirements.

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APPENDIX

EXTRACT TRANSCRIPTIONS

1 THE BILL

EXTRACT 1

Shot 1

27 seconds.

CU of window in back door, from the right a white stick smashes the glass.

Camera moves back and turns to left. A back garden, PS Cryer in MS, WPC and woman in b/g. PS bends down then stands up, camera doesn't move, he opens door then leaves shot to right.

Camera moves left then forward to MS of woman on left and WPC on right, unsteady movement.

Camera stops, slight unsteadiness.

Shot 2

15 seconds.

MS of PS in hall looking through door to right, he turns to right and walks toward camera.

Camera turns left as he approaches, he turns right and enters door.

Camera follows him to doorway, PS looks around room.

Camera moves back as PS comes out of room into hall, then turns left as PS moves to stairs and goes up.

Camera moves left at foot of stairs and up.

Shot 3

9 seconds.

MS of WPC in kitchen by back door, woman comes in through door, WPC on left with side to camera, woman on right facing camera. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 4

3 seconds.

MS of WPC on left, back of woman's head on right. No movement.

Shot 5

6 seconds.

MS of WPC back to camera on left, woman facing camera on right. No Movement.

Shot 6

1 second.

MCU of WPC's head, she turns to right, camera up slightly. Steady

Shot 7

4 seconds.

MCU of woman, steady, no movement.

Shot 8

1 second.

MCU of WPC, very slight unsteadiness.

Shot 9

3 seconds.

MCU of woman, Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 10

1 second.

MCU of WPC no movement.

Shot 11

7 seconds

MCU of Woman, steady.

Shot 12

5 seconds.

Camera facing PS Cryer's back as he enters bathroom.

Camera moves in, down and right to bath.

Camera pauses.

Shot 13

2 seconds.

Camera facing up 22° to PS Cryer.

Camera up slightly, PS Cryer turns his head to left.

Shot 14

6 seconds

MLS of WPC on left, woman on right.

WPC turns to right, camera moves back into hall from kitchen, preceding WPC and woman who walk from kitchen.

At bottom of stairs camera up (22°) to MLS of PS Cryer.

Shot 15

2 seconds.

Camera facing down, MS of WPC at foot of stairs, woman from bottom right comes to her right side. No movement

Shot 16

1 second.

MCU of PS Cryer, camera facing up. No movement.

Shot 17

3 seconds.

MCU of woman, camera facing down. WPC's shoulder at left. Woman looking up and to right. No movement.

Shot 18

6 seconds

LS of Police canteen, in mid ground table with 3 seated officers, one carrying tray comes to sit down.

Kitchen staff in b/g moving

Right side of officer's back in f/g.

Figure walks in front of camera.

Camera to right slightly.

Shot 19

6 seconds.

MCU of officer(1) at table from previous shot in canteen.

Camera turns right a little as other officer(2) sits down.

Shot 20

2 seconds.

MCU of two officers (3 and 4) looking to right at canteen table, they are on the other side from the officers 1 and 2.

No movement.

Shot 21

1 second

MCU of Officers 1 and 2 at canteen table.

No movement.

Shot 22

1 second

MCU of officers 3 and 4 at canteen table.

No movement.

Shot 23

3 seconds

CU of officer 1 looking left. Very slight camera movement to right. Officer 1 turns his head to right.

Shot 24

1 second.

MCU of officers 3 and 4 at canteen table.

No movement.

Shot 25

1 second

MCU of Officers 1 and 2 at canteen table.

No movement.

Shot 26

3 seconds

MCU of officers 1 and 2 from what was the far side of the table in 19.

1 still on left and 2 on right. Figure walks in front of camera.

No movement.

Shot 27

2 seconds

MCU of Officers 1 and 2 at canteen table.

No movement.

Shot 28

1 second.

MCU of officers 3 and 4 at canteen table.

No movement.

Shot 29

2 seconds

MCU of Officers 1 and 2 at canteen table.

No movement.

Shot 30

4 seconds

MCU of officers 3 and 4 at canteen table.

No movement.

Shot 31

1 second

MCU of Officers 1 and 2 at canteen table.

No movement.

Shot 32

2 seconds.

MCU of officers 3 and 4 at canteen table.

No movement.

Shot 33

1 second.

MCU of Officers 1 and 2 at canteen table.

No movement.

Shot 34

1 second.

MCU of officers 3 and 4 at canteen table.

No movement.

Shot 35

1 second

MCU of Officers 1 and 2 at canteen table.

No movement.

EXTRACT 2

Shot 1

4 Seconds.

LS of police car, in b/g a WPC closes car door; in f/g PC comes into shot from right and walks to left. WPC to left.

Camera turns to left then stops. WPC walks to door of shop, PC walks around front of car door and forward to shop door.

Shot 2

20 Seconds.

Camera down (-45°) facing floor of shop.

Camera back and up to MS of WPC and PC walking right to shop counter.

Camera turns to right with officers until it reaches shop keeper who moves left behind counter.

Camera moves left then right and forward to MCU of shopkeeper. Then down slightly as shopkeeper bends over, then up as he straightens.

Shot 3

5 Seconds.

MCU of WPC on left and PC on right behind her. Both looking right. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 4

1 second

MCU of shopkeeper. No movement.

Shot 5

2 seconds.

MCU of WPC on left and PC on right behind her. Both looking right. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 6

3 seconds.

MCU of shopkeeper, he turns to left.

Camera left slightly then up 22° as shopkeeper points to security camera.

Shot 7

1 second.

MCU of WPC on left, PC on right looking right, they move forward slightly. No movement.

Shot 8

19 seconds.

MS of shopkeeper's back as he walks behind counter.

Camera turns to left as WPC walks right, CU of back of her head.

Camera moves left, past WPC's back. PC's shoulder enters shot at left.

Camera pauses.

Camera turns to right.

Shot 9

8 seconds.

CU of back of man's head, driving, from rear right passenger seat. Car moving into Police compound.

Camera turns right to PS Cryer on left and WPC on right through window.

Car moves closer to officers.

Camera up 22° to PS Cryer who comes to driver's window.

Shot 10

5 seconds.

Camera down 22° to MS of Inspector in driving seat and back of PS Cryer's head.

Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 11

1 second.

Camera up 22°on MS of PS Cyer from rear passenger seat. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 12

2 seconds

Camera down 22° to MS of Inspector in driving seat and back of PS Cryer's head.

PS moves away from car at right. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 13

4 seconds

Police canteen.

MS of WPC on left, woman on right.

Camera left slightly and down 22° as woman sits down, helped by WPC.

Man carrying cup of tea enters at right.

Camera up slightly then in and moves right. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 14

2 seconds.

MS of PS Cryer sitting at table on right, rear right side of woman on left, WPC sits down next to PS Cryer. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 15

4 seconds.

MS of woman on left sitting at table. Rear left shoulder and head of PS Cryer on right. Unsteady.

Shot 16

6 seconds.

MS of PS Cryer sitting at table on left, rear right side of woman on left, WPC sits down next to PS Cryer. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 17

2 seconds.

MS of woman on left sitting at table. Rear left shoulder and head of PS Cryer on right. Very slight unsteadiness.

Shot 18

2 seconds.

MS of PS Cryer sitting at table on left, rear right side of woman on left, WPC sits down next to PS Cryer. Very slight unsteadiness.

Shot 19

3 seconds.

MS of woman on left sitting at table. Rear left shoulder and head of PS Cryer on right. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 20

1 second

CU of PS Cryer looking left. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 21

4 seconds.

CU of woman looking down and to right. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 22

1 second.

CU of WPC looking left wisp of woman's hair at right. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 23

2 seconds.

CU of woman looking to right. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 24

2 seconds.

MS of PS Cryer sitting at table on right, WPC next to him in middle, rear right side of woman on left. Slight unsteadiness

Shot 25

1 second.

CU of woman looking right.

Shot 26

1 second.

CU of WPC looking left wisp of woman's hair at right. No movement.

Shot 27

1 second.

Camera down <22° at woman's wrist and gold watch.

Camera up slightly.

Shot 28

2 seconds.

CU of woman. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 29

1 second.

CU of PS Cryer.

Camera right slightly.

Shot 30

8 seconds.

CU of woman. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 31

2 seconds.

CU of PS Cryer, head turned to left, turns head to right. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 32

2 seconds.

CU of woman. Very slight unsteadiness.

Shot 33

4 seconds.

CU of WPC.

Camera down 22° to her hands writing in notepad. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 34

7 seconds.

CU of Woman. Very slight unsteadiness.

Shot 35

5 seconds.

CU of PS Cryer.

Camera left slightly.

Shot 36

3 seconds.

CU of Woman, camera down 22° and in on her neck. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 37

1 second

CU of WPC looking left wisp of woman's hair at right.

Camera right slightly.

Shot 38

1 second.

CU of Woman, turns head to right. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 39

3 seconds.

CU of PS Cryer. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 40

4 seconds.

CU of Woman. slight unsteadiness.

2 HOMICIDE: Life on the Street

EXTRACT 1

Shot 1

28 seconds duration

Camera pointing down 45° to ground, car at the top of the screen.

Camera moves up and slightly to the right as Bayliss and Pembleton get out of the car and close the doors.

Camera moves back, preceding, as they walk forward. Unsteady.

[credits appear at bottom of the screen for next 15 seconds]

Camera slows and camera down slightly (<22°) as Bayliss bends to pick up a fallen leaf, crumples it and throws it away.

Camera continues moving back then stops, turns to right as Bayliss and Pembleton cross in front of the camera, moving right and walk into shopping centre; a crowd of people stand by the entrance and several uniformed police. The police part as the detectives approach.

Shot 2

25 seconds

Camera pointing down 45° to lower level of Shopping Centre, people around in ELS, girl holding balloon etc. Camera up and turns left as Bayliss and Pembleton

in LS walk to left. Uniform police in f/g, Bayliss and Pembleton turn from bridge to sideway walking towards camera.

Camera moves back and stops as Bayliss and Pembleton come up to Uniform police man (Clifford).

Pembleton moves to left, camera turns left and down 22° as he stoops to look at window and its display (where Patrick was shot).

Shot 3

21 seconds

MS of Clifford on right, Bayliss on left, camera moves in a little then moves left, turns right slightly then moves and turns left as Bayliss moves to window and taps on the glass.

Camera moves in to Bayliss then down <22° as Bayliss looks down at window display.

Camera moves back and turns right to Clifford.

Shot 4

6 seconds

MS of Clifford on right, Bayliss gone and now Pembleton on left.

Camera turns left and moves in then down <22° to blood stained window. Slow motion jumps in movement.

Shot 5

6 seconds

Fade in

Gates of large red brick building.

Camera turns to right and up to large Victorian building.

Shot 6

3 seconds

LS of hospital room, bed with Patrick lying on it, two men in blue gowns and hats, one man bent over Patrick. Stable then unsteady camera.

Shot 7

1 second

Camera straight down 90° on Patrick.

Camera moves in on boy, lots of blood around his head, one white gloved hand holding a ventilator connected to his mouth, another gloved hand holding open his eyelids while a third hand is moves a shining a light across his eyes. No movement.

Shot 8

2 seconds

BCU of man (male nurse) looking down, shines light from right to left moves head away to right. No movement

Shot 9

15 seconds

CU of window display in Shopping Centre blood smeared on glass and trail of blood down the window.

Camera down (44°) and points to ground where there is more blood on the floor. Flash of light.

A man is kneeling the ground taking a sample of blood, though not entirely in the frame. Another flash of light.

Camera turns left and moves to circle on the ground with a bullet case in it, a number 3 place marker next to it on the ground.

Camera moves closer to circle then turns to right and moves forward coming to another circled bullet case numbered 4, camera again moves quickly to left another circle as gloved hands lift up a bullet case with tweezers (flash)

Camera up, cants to left slightly, to Bayliss as he inspects case in plastic bag.

Shot 10

10 seconds

Hospital corridor, people walking past camera.

Camera moves along wall, camera moving left turns slightly to right and slows, through internal windows: Father comes into view sitting down, then Mother staring into space.

Camera moves closer to glass.

Shot 11

3 seconds

BCU of Patrick's face, looking directly down, tape over mouth holding tube, gloved fingers covered in blood open his eyes and move head from side to side.

Camera moves back, shows side of the back of the nurse's head.

Shot 12

2 seconds

Gloved hands removing a bullet from wall with a knife, head in top left. Camera moves in, up slightly.

Shot 13

2 seconds

MS of Forensic man on left, Bayliss on right, Forensic man taken bullet from wall motions to give it to Bayliss.

Camera moves in and sharply down and moves in as Forensic man puts bullet into plastic forensic bag that Bayliss is holding out.

Shot 14

1 second

CU of hand holding plastic forensic bag.

Camera turns right and up to CU as Bayliss holds up the bag to his face, he looks at bullet.

Shot 15

1 second

Same position as previous but forensic bag gone

Camera moves slightly right and up to CU as Bayliss turns his head to right and looks upwards.

Shot 16

5 seconds

In hospital room, camera facing glass partition.

Camera turns to right as Security man walking in corridor comes to door.

Camera stops. Slight unsteadiness

Shot 17

46 seconds

CU fish tank and Father as he taps the tank lightly with a finger camera up and turns right as he turns to right (Mother sitting down in b/g out of focus).

He turns back to fish tank. Father turns to Mother, then moves off to right.

Mother now in focus turns her head to Father then stares in front of her. Slight unsteadiness.

EXTRACT 2

Shot 1

18 seconds duration

Camera pointing down into medicine box 45°, CU of hand as it picks plaster from box.

Camera moves back slightly, then moves left and back in a 45° arc still facing the box as Bayliss standing, straightens up.

Behind him, Munch is looking at Bayliss' back.

Camera moves towards Bayliss then back a little. Unsteady

Camera moves past Bayliss and then down 22° to Munch's hand then up 22° to his face.

Shot 2

<1 second

MCU of side of Munch on right and Bayliss on left.

Shot 3

1 second

CU of Munch, from right, slight unsteadiness.

Shot 4

<1 second

CU of Bayliss looking behind him. Unsteady

Shot 5

15 seconds

Camera facing Bayliss, Munch in background.

Camera turns left then moves right, moves back and down. Unsteady.

Camera turns left as Lewis walks past, turns right slightly as Pembleton walks into shot.

Camera moves left as Bayliss approaches Pembleton.

Shot 6

3 seconds

MCU of Bayliss, Bayliss turns his head to the right,

Camera turns slightly to right and then left as Bayliss turns head back left.

Shot 7

3 seconds

MCU of Pembleton on left and Bayliss on right

Camera moves in then turns left as Pembleton moves left.

Shot 8

6 seconds

CU of side of Pembleton's head, Bayliss in b/g is obscured

Camera moves left as Pembleton's head goes down (he sits).

Bayliss stops then walks left, camera turns left as Bayliss moves out of shot.

Shot 9

6 seconds

Camera pointing down 45° on CU of youth sitting.

Camera moves up and turns to right then stops as Pembleton and Bayliss enter the cell. Bayliss on left, Pembleton on right.

Shot 10

12 seconds

Position moved to other side of cell from previous shot.

Camera turns to right, down a little, moves left and up slightly.

Bayliss moves to left.

Shot 11

13 seconds

Position switches to other side of cell, image obscured as Pembleton walks past camera to right revealing youth.

In CU, camera turns right to Bayliss (sitting) as he looks up to Pembleton

Camera turns left to youth, then right slightly as Bayliss' hand touches youth's ear from the right.

Shot 12

10 seconds

Position switches to other side of cell, Bayliss on left, youth on right

Camera moves left in mini arc and then up to Pembleton's face.

Camera down 45° and left to youth.

Camera moves back slightly.

Shot 13

7 seconds

Position switches sides. Bayliss on right, Pembleton left of him (head not in shot)

Camera turns left to youth. Unsteady.

Shot 14

15 seconds

Camera position switches, Youth on right, Bayliss on left, camera unsteady.

Camera moves towards youth, unsteady.

Camera moves down and back slightly, youth is facing camera, Bayliss has back to camera.

Shot 15

11 seconds

CU of Bayliss on right

CU Bayliss on right, camera turns left to youth, unsteady, moves in on youth then turns right to Bayliss.

Shot 16

21 Seconds

Camera has moved back from shot 17

MS of Youth on left, Bayliss on right, Pembleton in mid left.

Camera moves in on youth then arc left to go around youth's back.

Pembleton walks in front of camera behind youth.

Camera turns to right then up slightly.

3 MERSEY BLUES

EXTRACT 1

Shot 1

17 Seconds

LS of Detective Inspector Garry Watson walking down corridor, camera precedes matching his swift pace.

Camera stops as GW slows and knocks on an open office door (in the background a man sits at a desk, he is DCS Walker).

Camera turns left, moves in following GW into office through doorway.

Camera slows and turns to right as GW sits down opposite man.

Camera moves in on GW, unsteady, moves to right, points down slightly (<22°), then turns left MLS of Walker looking right.

Shot 2

11 Seconds

MLS of GW looking to right, slight unsteadiness in camera.

Shot 3

35 Seconds

MCU of Walker (graphic "RAY WALKER" below that "Detective Chief Superintendent") looking right, slight unsteadiness in camera.

Shot 4

28 Seconds

MCU of GW looking down and left, looks left, camera unsteady turns to left 90° and up (<22°) slightly to MCU of RW facing right.

Shot 5

13 seconds

MCU of the mid-section of a policeman wearing a bullet-proof vest holding a shoulder arm, he pulls clip at the end of the gun.

Camera points down as policeman pulls clip at end, camera turns left slightly then back and turns left slightly, then left, then right and up and left. There is another policeman on the left edge of screen.

Camera turns right to policeman holding gun, then left as one policeman hands a gun to another.

Camera moves left.

Shot 6

5 Seconds

Camera pointing down (<22°) to CU of hands from right loading clip with bullets.

Camera moves left and then in on hands

Shot 7

3 seconds

CU of another pair of hands from left loading a clip with bullets.

Camera unsteady up then down.

Shot 8

3 seconds

LS of police car in enclosed car park, a policeman on the left and right of the car.

As right policeman bends over pointing his firearm at the floor the camera dips, policeman knocks end of gun with his hand and stands up straight.

Camera up then moves to right then left slightly.

Shot 9

<1 second

Nightclub, MS of male youth dancing in flashing lights. Projected geometric shape in b/g. No camera movement.

Shot 10

<1 second

MS of youths dancing amid bright orange light. No camera movement.

Shot 11

<1 second

MS of different youths dancing, blue light. No camera movement.

Shot 12

<1 second

MS of a group of youths dancing. No camera movement.

Shot 13

<1 second

Looking up 68°, MS of woman dancing on right, man on left red lights. No camera movement.

Shot 14

<1 second

LS of dance floor, bright orange light. No camera movement.

Shot 15

< 1 second

Looking up 68° MS of men dancing on right, glitterball and green light on left. No camera movement.

Shot 16

< 1 second

MS of woman on right, side to camera, green light on left. No camera movement.

Shot 17

4 Seconds

Grainy texture to image

Camera pointing up 45° in crowd of people. MS of young woman who walks past camera (face blurred out).

Camera moves slightly to left, MS of man (Detective Sergeant Dave Kelly) follows woman, camera unsteady.

Shot 18

1 second

Grainy image.

CU of man's back in crowd, Camera follows figure as they move right.

Shot 19

2 seconds

Grainy image.

Camera in crowd moves left following DK. Man walks in front of camera obscures view completely.

Shot 20

<1 second

Nightclub, MS of woman on right and man on left dancing, orange lights. No camera movement.

Shot 21

<1 second

Blue light, MS couple dancing, flash of orange light. No camera movement.

Shot 22

<1 second

In MS f/g youths dancing, b/g glitterball reflecting green beams of light. No camera movement.

Shot 23

<1 second.

MS of blurred figure dancing against circular b/g. No camera movement.

Shot 24

<1 second.

MS Woman on right, man on left dancing. No camera movement.

Shot 25

<1 second.

Glitterball on left, with green light, LS man on right. No camera movement.

Shot 26

<1 second.

LS of back of heads moving/dancing. No camera movement.

Shot 27

2 seconds.

MS of woman dancing alone, camera moves sharply down to faces of youths then quickly turns to left and down among youths.

Shot 28

8 seconds.

MS of GW with back to camera he approaches a barrier where clubbers are queuing, camera follows as GW walks ahead turns left.

Camera moves to right.

Shot 29

5 seconds.

Camera in passenger seat of police car facing policeman in driver's seat. P/man opens door and gets out of car, then closes door.

No camera movement.

Shot 30

7 seconds.

Ms of GW on right, two policemen in vests left and centre of frame.

Camera slightly unsteady.

Shot 31

7 seconds.

LS of group of clubbers in street. No camera movement.

Shot 32

18 seconds.

MS Camera pointing down 45° to DK crouching by open car door on left, GW standing on right. Someone's arm moves out of the way to right

DK stands up, camera goes in then lifts up and moves to right and in to GW (graphic at bottom: "DAVE "NED" KELLY" and underneath "Detective sergeant") then right and around GW's back to other side then pauses, unsteady.

Camera right and in on DK.

EXTRACT 2

Shot 1

1 minute 5 seconds

Camera pointing down 45°, in rear left seat of car. Lower half of man holding battering ram. 2 other men in car (DK driving).

Camera points up to driver (car driving down street) unsteady.

Car stops, Policeman in passenger seat opens door, operator opens door, arm visible. Quick unsteady movement, camera dips straight down turns anti-clockwise then left and up, right as policeman runs down street.

Camera follows policeman quickly, operator running, unsteady, to front door of a house.

MS of p/man at door as he tries to batter it open. Camera unsteady.

(image cant) camera right then in on door. 2nd policeman with sledgehammer hits door.

Camera unsteady moves left, right and left slightly as 1st policeman tries to open door. 3rd policeman uses sledgehammer and breaks door open.

Camera turns right, then left.

Camera waits while policemen enter house then camera follows into hall, moving quickly. Image cants to left, unsteady, camera turns right slightly then right sharply 90° facing into front room.

Camera sharply left 90° facing into hall, moves right slightly then moves left and up a flight of stairs, camera up.

At top of flight camera turns to right sharply, unsteady, and heads up next flight of stairs, camera still up. LS of policemen in front of camera

At top of the next flight of stairs.

Camera turns left facing into bedroom (jerky unsteady movement) then turns right facing into another room, pauses very briefly (less than 1 second) then turns right and up next set of stairs, unsteady movement forward and up, at top of this flight moves in to doorway facing into room, then sharp right cam dips sharply down facing down stairs as MS of policeman as he comes up to landing.

Camera moves back then up and moves left past policeman and up stairs, unsteady (cant), camera moves left and into room, turns right and left slightly.

Shot 2

29 seconds

MS of Dk's back as he looks out of window in bedroom. He turns to right walks to door.

Camera moves right, dips down at bed then sharp right, camera up slightly policeman in front of camera moves left into room, then camera moves left then down stairs.

Camera facing down moves down stairs following DK in LS.

Camera unsteady, turns anti-clockwise and moves left before reaching landing then turns left sharply and quickly down stairs unsteady, turns left again at next landing camera up slightly and closer to DK.

Camera turns left more smoothly though still unsteady and down stairs into hallway facing front door.

Camera slight pause (<1 second) then turns left and moves forward as DK in MS enters room.

Camera turns right as other policeman walks past and into hall.

Camera sharp left back to DK and stops as he walks down hall.

Shot 3

19 seconds.

Camera facing doorway of room in LS. Two policemen in doorway.

Camera moves back as policemen enters room. A woman and boy walk past doorway in hall with their faces blurred.

Camera moves left as DK comes into shot from left he walks to door and through door, camera follows in MS.

Camera goes through door and then turns sharp right, a policeman's back to camera as he walks down the hall.

Camera zooms in on kitchen from hall.

Shot 4

32 Seconds.

Camera in kitchen of house, MS of DK's side. Other policemen in background.

Camera unsteady.

Camera moves right and back unsteady, showing MS of woman and child with blurred faces.

4 CAN'T COOK WON'T COOK

Programme date and time: 19 November 1996 BBC1 10.30-11.00

(Shots have no movement and are stable unless otherwise indicated.)

EXTRACT 1

Shot 1

2 seconds

ELS of chef (KW) from right of studio, he "dances" on to set from left smiling.

In bottom of frame, back of audience.

Shot 2

<1 second

MS of KW from direct (front) angle.

Shot 3

<1 second

ELS of KW behind set from right, back of audience at bottom.

Shot 4

4 seconds

LS of KW from direct, front angle.

Shot 5

2 seconds

ELS of KW behind set from right, back of audience at bottom of frame.

Shot 6

20 seconds

LS of KW as he stops behind the middle segment (direct angle).

Camera slowly zooms in to MS.

Camera to left slightly as KW moves to left.

Shot 7

4 seconds

LS of set from right 22°, showing blue "kitchen". Two women (SC and ER) walk onto set from left.

Shot 8

1 second

MS of the ER and SC from right

Shot 9

2 seconds

MLS of SC, ER on the left KW on the right. KW shakes SC's hand KW looks down at cards in his hand.

Shot 10

2 seconds

MS of ER and SC from right.

Shot 11

1 second

MLS of ER and SC, KW, from left.

Shot 12

1 second.

MS of ER and SC, from right.

Shot 13

<1 second

CU of KW

Camera turns to left slightly, as KW moves left.

Shot 14

<1 second

MS ER and SC from right

Shot 15

1 second

MLS of KW, ER and SC from left

Shot 16

6 seconds

MS ER and SC from right

Shot 17

2 seconds

MCU of KW from left

Camera moves to right slightly as KW moves to right.

Shot 18

3 seconds

MS of ER and SC from right

Shot 19

1 second

MCU of SC from right

Shot 20

1 second

MLS of ER, SC and KW from left

Shot 21

2 seconds

MS of SC and ER from right

Shot 22

2 seconds

MCU of SC from right

Shot 23

2 seconds

MS of ER and SC

Shot 24

5 seconds

MCU of ER from right

Shot 25

2 seconds

MLS of ER, SC and KW from left

Shot 26

3 seconds

MS of ER and SC from right

Shot 27

3 seconds

MS of KW from left.

Camera turns to right as KW walks slowly to the right, but continues to face camera.

Shot 28

4 seconds

ELS of KW from left

Camera facing to right and Red "kitchen". Two people walk out onto the set from right towards the centre and KW.

Woman and man, man in white cook's smock and red neckerchief

Shot 29

1 second

MS of GG, SG from left

Shot 30

2 seconds

MLS of KW on left. GG and SG on right from right.

Shot 31

3 seconds

MS of GG, SG on left both facing to left.

Shot 32

1 second

MLS of KW on left, GG and SG on right from right.

Shot 33

1 second

MS of GG on left, SG on right, from left.

Shot 34

2 seconds

MLS of KW on left, GG and SG on right from right.

Shot 35

3 seconds

MCU of GG from left.

Shot 36

2 seconds

MLS KW on left, GG and SG on right from left

Shot 37

4 seconds

MCU of GG from left.

Shot 38

1 second

MCU of KW from right

Shot 39

1 second

MS of ER and SC from right

Shot 40

2 seconds

MCU of GG from left

Shot 41

1 second

MLS of KW on left, GG and SG on right from right.

Shot 42

3 seconds

MS of GG and SG from left.

Shot 43

3 seconds

MCU of SG from left.

Shot 44

2 seconds

MCU of GG and SD from left.

Shot 45

1 second

CU of KW from right.

Shot 46

4 seconds

MS of GG and SG from centre/left.

Shot 47

2 seconds

MLS of KW from right.

Camera pans right as SG

thrusts both arms forward

then camera pans left to KW

Shot 48

2 seconds

MS of GG and SG facing to left from centre left. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 49

1 second

MCU of GG smiling from far left

Shot 50

1 second

MS of KW camera turns left follows KW

as he moves to centre of set, from centre

Shot 51

1 second

MCU of ER and SC

ER moves to right and SC to left.

Shot 52

2 seconds

MCU of GG from centre

Camera to right slightly as GG moves right

Shot 53

1 second

MLS of set and participants, ER on

left KW in centre and GG on right.

ER and GG start to put chef hats on

Shot 54

1 second

MCU of ER from right

Shot 55

1 second

CU of GG, camera to left

following GG as he moves left.

Shot 56

8 seconds

MLS of set and participants

ER and GG move closer to KW in centre

Camera moves in.

Shot 57

1 second

CU of dish from vertically above

Shot 58

1 second

MCU of GG from left

Shot 59

1 second

MLS of set and participants close

together, direct

Shot 60

1 second

MCU of ER from right

Shot 61

2 seconds

MLS of set and participants, direct.

Along bottom of screen following text

starts to scroll past "RECIPE AVAILABLE

IN THE CEEFAX COOKBOOK PAGE 580"

moving from right to left

Shot 62

1 second

CU of GG from left

Shot 63

3 seconds

MLS of set and participants, direct.

Text has gone off screen to right.

Shot 64

2 seconds

CU of dish in KW's hand from right

Shot 65

1 second

MLS of set, 3 participants, direct.

Shot 66

1 second

MCU of ER from right

Shot 67

3 seconds

MCU of GG from left

EXTRACT 2

Shot 1

1 second

MS of KW from left.

Camera t o right as KW moves right.

Shot 2

1 second

MCU of ER from right.

Camera left slightly.

Shot 3

3 seconds

MS of ER from right.

Camera to right a little as ER moves to right.

Shot 4

1 second

MS of GG from left.

Shot 5

2 seconds

MCU of pan from above.

Shot 6

1 second

MS of GG from left.

Shot 7

3 seconds

MS of KW from right.

Camera to left as KW moves to left.

Shot 8

1 second

MS of ER from right.

Camera to left as ER moves to left.

Shot 9

1 second

MCU of pan from above.

Shot 10

1 second

MS of KW.

Camera to right as KW moves to right.

Shot 11

<1 second

MS of GG from left.

Slight movement to left.

Shot 12

1 second

MCU of spinach in pan from above.

Shot 13

2 seconds

MS of ER from right.

Shot 14

2 seconds

MCU of spinach in pan from above.

Shot 15

3 seconds

MS of KW. Direct.

Camera to right slightly.

Shot 16

3 seconds

MCU of spinach in pan from above.

Camera up slightly.

Shot 17

7 seconds

MS of KW. Direct.

Camera to right as KW walks to right and joins GG.

shot 18

2 seconds

MCU of Spinach in pan from above.

Shot 19

2 seconds

MCU of KW.

Camera up slightly.

Shot 20

2 seconds

MS of KW and GG, direct.

Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 21

2 seconds

MCU of KW. From right.

Camera to left slightly as KW moves left.

Shot 22

3 seconds

MS of KW and GG. From right.

Camera to left as KW moves left. Camera stops as KW stops then Camera to right as KW moves to right.

Shot 23

1 second

MCU of frying pan from above.

Shot 24

5 seconds

MCU of KW. Direct.

Camera to left as KW moves to left then camera to right as KW moves to right.

Shot 25

<1 second

MCU of pan from above.

Shot 26

2 seconds

MS of ER, from right.

Shot 27

2 seconds

MS of KW. Direct

Camera slightly unstable.

Shot 28

<1 second

MS of hob, 2 frying pans and one pan from above.

Shot 29

2 seconds

MS of KW. Direct

Camera to right slightly.

Shot 30

3 seconds

MS of ER, from right.

Camera to left until SC comes into shot at left.

Shot 31

4 seconds

MS of GG, from left.

Camera to left as GG moves left slightly then camera to right as GG leans right. -

G comes briefly into shot.

Camera left as GG moves left a little.

Shot 32

1 second

MCU of GG, from left.

Camera right as GG moves left.

Shot 33

7 seconds

MS of KW. Direct.

Camera left slightly then right as KW walks right to GG.

Shot 34

1 second

MCU of pan from above.

Shot 35

1 second

MS of KW and GG. Direct.

Camera left slightly as KW leans to left.

Shot 36

1 second

MCU of pan from above.

Shot 37

1 second

MS of KW and GG from left. Direct.

Camera to left as KW moves to left.

Shot 38

1 second

MCU of GG, from left.

Shot 39

1 second

MLS of SC and ER, from right.

Shot 40

1 second

MCU of pan from above.

Shot 41

2 seconds

MS of SC and ER, from right.

Shot 42

2 seconds

MS of KW, from left.

Camera to left as KW moves to left.

Shot 43

2 seconds

MS of GG and SG, from left.

Camera to right as GG moves to right

Shot 44

3 seconds

MLS of SC, KW and ER, from right.

Camera to left slightly.

Shot 45

2 seconds

MCU of sink, pan and colander.

Shot 46

2 seconds

MLS of SC, KW and ER, from right.

Shot 47

2 seconds

MCU of KW, ER, direct.

Shot 48

1 second

MS of GG, SG behind him, from left.

Shot 49

1 second

MCU of potato in colander from above.

Shot 50

1 second

MS of GG, SG behind him, from left.

Shot 51

1 second

MLS of SC, KW and ER, from right.

Shot 52

1 second

CU of SC, from right.

Shot 53

1 second

MLS of SC, KW and ER, from right.

Shot 54

1 second

MS of KW, ER, direct.

Shot 55

2 seconds

CU of SC, from right.

Shot 56

1 second

MLS of SC, KW is behind ER, from right.

KW moves from behind ER.

Shot 57

1 second

MCU of ER, direct.

Shot 58

2 seconds

MLS of SC, ER, KW from right.

KW walks out of shot to right.

Shot 59

2 seconds

MCU sink and pan from above.

Shot 60

3 seconds

MS of GG, from left.

KW walks into shot from left, camera to left.

Shot 61

2 seconds

MCU of frying pan from above.

Camera moves down and right as pan is moved.

Shot 62

2 seconds

MS of KW, GG, from left.

Shot 63

2 seconds

MCU of frying pan from above.

Shot 64

5 seconds

MS of KW, GG, from left.

KW moves left.

Camera right slightly as GG leans to right.

Shot 65

1 second

MCU of frying pan from above.

Shot 66

4 seconds

MLS of KW. Direct.

slight unsteadiness.

Shot 67

9 seconds

MLS of SC, ER, from right.

KW walks into then out of shot.

Camera unsteady then camera right as ER moves to right.

Shot 68

7 seconds

MLS of GG, from left.

Camera left as GG moves left. KW in shot.

Camera right as GG moves right.

Shot 69

2 seconds

LS of set from left side EC, KW and GG (at far side)

Shot 70

4 seconds

MS of GG and SG, from left.

Shot 71

1 second

MS of KW, direct.

Shot 72

1 second

MS of GG and SG, from left.

Shot 73

<1 second

MCU of pan from above.

Shot 74

1 second

MS of GG and SG, from left.

Shot 75

1 second

MS of KW, direct.

5 BBC BREAKFAST NEWS

Shown on 16/8/95 at 07:00-09:00, BBC1

EXTRACT 1

Shot 1

9 seconds

LS of Lake/harbour, camera turns slowly to right, a ruin in the b/g.

Shot 2

20 seconds

Fade into MS of JW and SM ruin in b/g between them. Direct

Shot 3

11 seconds

Cut to MCU of JW. Direct.

Very slight unsteadiness.

Shot 4a

3 seconds

Image of the front of an army truck driving along road.

Unsteady

Shot 4b

5 seconds

LS of back of army truck moving along road, unsteady

Shot 4c

8 seconds

The previous image in the graphic space moves around a blue sphere to be replaced by a photograph of four men sitting closely together.

Shot 4d

4 seconds

Again the previous image moves to be replaced by moving pictures of industrial machinery that is rolling sheets of steel, a man places a metal drum on the belt.

Shot 5

3 seconds

Cut to MCU of SM. Direct

Camera up slightly and right slightly.

Shot 6

4 seconds

Cut to close up of moving image of a midge feeding on (human) skin

Shot 7

3 seconds

Wipe to moving image of river/channel two ferryboats crossing and a bridge in the b/g.

Shot 8

7 seconds

Cut to MS of a man standing outside a marquee from right. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 9

6 seconds

MS of woman standing in a grassy area from left.

Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 10

3 seconds

MS of man in front of a marquee from left.

Shot 11

5 seconds

MLS of JW and SM. Direct.

Shot 12

1 second

MS Profile of woman (Juliet Morris) from far right. Below them are the words "THE ISLE OF SKYE" and below that a white cross against the blue background. JM turns slightly to her left.

Shot 13

25 seconds

Cut to MS front view of JM on the left. On the right there is a graphic on upper left side of screen with an image of a man/soldier using a machine gun. Direct.

Shot 14

2 seconds

Fae into ELS of coastal hillside, with houses on it.

Graphic: banner in lower part of screen reading "CROATIA'S WARNING", the band rotates by one side showing depth, it is an oblong box shape, and then reads "Correspondent: GEORGE EYKYN"

After a few seconds the words fade from the screen

Shot 15

2 seconds

LS of the houses on the coast

Shot 16

4 seconds

ELS of different, though similar looking, area of coast, smoke rises from the hills in the b/g, there are houses in f/g

Shot 17

2 seconds

ELS of houses and trees, no coast, smoke rising

Shot 18

4 seconds

LS of room with bare stonewalls, wooden chairs, a woman and four children are sitting and lying down, the children move around. The camera moves in to MLS.

Shot 19

20 seconds

Cut to graphic image of a map of Bosnia, which is coloured red and green. around bosnia are areas of grey, on the left the word "CROATIA". Marked on the map with white dots are "Sarajevo" and in smaller letters "Dubrovnik" and "Trebinje". At the side of the map there is a green square with the words "Bosnia/Croat" next to it and a red square with the word "Serb" next to it. In the top left of the map there are the letters "B B C".

After several seconds the map moves as if tilted up the bottom half with Dubrovnik and Trebinje getting larger. A dot with "Split" appears when it is mentioned.

At the words "drive to force.." two yellow arrows appear from each side of the dot market "Dubrovnik" pointing to the area marked "Trebinje"

Shot 20

3 seconds

LS of moving pictures of a man in green clothes loading an artillery gun.

Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 21

4 seconds

LS of man from previous shot firing an artillery gun.

Unsteady

Shot 22

3 seconds

LS of smoke rising over hills and trees.

Shot 23

3 seconds

LS of man putting a shell into a large mortar, two other men are with him.

Shot 24

1 second

MLS of man looking through the sight of an artillery gun

Shot 25

2 seconds.

LS of large mortar firing.

Unsteady.

EXTRACT 2

Shot 1

16 seconds

LS of SM, Jim Harper, Una Mcpherson, Roger Parker in profile. SM more direct to camera.

Shot 2

17 seconds

MCU of UM.

Camera to left very slightly. Direct.

Shot 3

3 seconds

LS of SM, man1, UM, man 2, last three in line, profile, SM more direct to camera.

Shot 4

12 seconds

MCU of UM direct.

Shot 5

10 seconds

LS of SM, man1, UM, man 2, last three in line, profile, SM more direct to camera. JW appears on left side of frame.

Shot 6

3 seconds

MLS of man1, UM, man 2, SM on left edge of screen. Direct.

Shot 7

8 seconds

LS of JW, SM in profile, Man 1, UM and Man 2 direct.

Shot 8

3 seconds

MCU of Man 1, edge of SM's head in left side. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 9

5 seconds

LS of JW, SM in profile, Man 1, UM and Man 2 direct.

Shot 10

21 seconds

MLS of Man 1, UM and Man 2 direct.

Camera up slightly.

Shot 11

5 seconds

MCU of JW direct.

Camera right slightly as JW leans right.

Shot 12

3 seconds

MLS of JW and SM (obscured) in profile, man 1, UM and man2 direct.

Shot 13

3 seconds

MCU of JW direct

Shot 14

1 second

Graphic composite of JW (1/2 size of previous shot) on left with ISLE OF SKYE underneath image and 1/2 size MCU of man 3 in studio with LONDON below image.

Shot 15

10 seconds

MCU of Man 3 direct.

Camera down slightly.

Shot 16

8 seconds

Graphic of "Telegraph pre-tax interim profits" with graph.

Shot 17

27 seconds

MCU of man 3 direct.

Shot 18

8 seconds

Fade into shot of top of hovercraft in shipyard. Camera zooms out along its length.

Shot 19

3 seconds

ELS of two welders on the side of the hovercraft.

Shot 20

4 seconds

MCU of welders. From side.

Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 21

5 seconds

LS of welders.

6 CHANNEL 5 NEWS

EXTRACT 1

Shot 1

10 seconds

CU of tv screen: crowded House of Commons.

Graphic: (5)A QUESTION OF CHANGE

Friday 9th May 1997

20:30

Camera to left sharply to direct MS of Kirsty Young. Unsteady

Shot 2

6 seconds

Fade/(5) symbol to ELS of masked police leading others out of van.

Camera to left, unsteady.

Shot 3

4 seconds

Camera in shopping trolley (front bars of trolley visible), moving down aisle, to left and right.

Shot 4

9 seconds

MS of KY Direct.

Shot 5

1 second

MS of Prince Charles from side, Spice girls on right.

Camera moves forward.

Shot 6

<1 second

MCU of Geri Spice kissing Charles.

Shot 7

4 seconds

Fade into MS of Baby Spice, Charles and other Spices.

Camera to left, slight unsteadiness.

Shot 8

18 seconds

Fade into LS of KY.

Camera forward as KY walks towards camera. Direct.

Camera stops as KY stops, slight unsteadiness.

Camera left and back a little as KY walks to left. Slight unsteadiness.

Shot 9

26 seconds

MCU of Mark Easton. Not quite direct.

shot 10

1 second

ELS of Commons chamber

Shot 11

3 seconds

MS of Betty Boothroyd. Direct.

Shot 12

5 seconds

ELS of John Major and Government benches.

Shot 13

1 second

MLS of Major

Shot 14

6 seconds

ELS of Opposition benches.

Shot 15

3 seconds

ELS of Commons chamber.

Shot 16

3 seconds

MS of Margaret Thatcher from left.

Shot 17

4 seconds

MS of Tony Blair, direct.

Shot 18

3 seconds

MS of Major, from left

Shot 19

3 seconds

LS of House of Commons table in centre of chamber.

Shot 20

3 seconds

MLS of Blair signing book at table.

Shot 21

7 seconds

MCU of Margaret Beckett from slightly to left.

Graphic: MARGARET BECKETT MP

President, Board of Trade.

Shot 22

4 seconds

MCU of man with paper.

Camera in slightly.

Shot 23

4 seconds

CU of paper

Shot 24

4 seconds

Slightly closer CU of same paper.

Shot 25

3 seconds

ELS of Commons chamber.

Shot 26

6 seconds

MS of Major from slightly to left.

Shot 27

10 seconds

MS of John Redwood. Graphic: (5) JOHN REDWOOD MP

Conservative Leadership Contender.

Shot 28

5 seconds

MLS of Major at dispatch box from right.

Shot 29

2 seconds

ELS of Commons table and benches

Shot 30

<1 second

MLS of Speaker, direct.

Shot 31

5 seconds

MS of KY, slight unsteadiness.

Shot 32

8 seconds.

MS of ME direct.

EXTRACT 2

Shot 1

6 seconds

(5) logo, graphic bands cross screen and wipe to MLS of KY.

Camera moves to right in arc. Slightly unsteady, cant to right.

Shot 2

4 seconds

MCU of Laurent Kabila, unsteady

Shot 3

8 seconds

LS of Mobutu coming out of plane, camera zooms in to MS.

Camera down, unsteady as Mobutu walks down steps.

Shot 4

3 seconds

(5) logo and wipe, LS of street.

Camera left and down stops.

Shot 5

2 seconds

CU of wall "St. Patrick's Mall 1896"

Shot 6

2 seconds

LS of street, van goes past.

Shot 7

8 seconds

MCU photograph of man, out of focus, direct.

Shot 8

3 seconds

(5) logo, wipe to CU of ice cream cone in hand.

Camera to left as hand moves left, cone taken from hand moves to right.

Shot 9

8 seconds

MS of woman and child

Shot 10

<1 second (1 frame, 1/24 of second)

MS of woman, child and another woman on right.

Shot 11

4 seconds

MS of man.

Camera down slightly as man bends down.

Camera down sharply to MS of woman and child.

Shot 12

23 seconds

MS of KY, direct.

Camera in to MCU of KY.

Shot 13

1 second

wipe to CU of rev. counter on motorbike.

Shot 14

1 second

CU of petrol tank of motorbike.

Shot 15

2 seconds

From rear of moving vehicle, motorbikes following, one overtakes.

Shot 16

10 seconds

LS of Sanders in motorbike showroom.

Camera left as Sanders moves left.

Camera in to MS of Sanders then moves right. Unsteady.

Shot 17

2 seconds

ELS of man and Sanders from ground level looking up 45°.

Shot 18

7 seconds

LS of man and sanders down <45° direct.

Graphic: TIM NICHOLS

(5) Sales assistant

Shot 19

3 seconds

MS of motorbike from ground level.

Shot 20

3 seconds

CU of motorbike headlamp from side, canted to right.

Shot 21

2 seconds

CU of headlamp, direct, with "sold" sticker on it.

Camera zooms in until completely out of focus.

Shot 22

17 seconds

MS of motorbike.

Camera turns quickly to left to LS of Sanders and man.

Camera in and left, unsteady to MLS of Sanders and man.

Camera in to MS of Sanders and man, unsteady.

Graphic: STEVE EDWARDS

(5) Biker

Shot 23

2 seconds

MCU of motorbike, slightly unsteady, looking down >45°.

Shot 24

1 second.

MLS of Sanders and man.

Shot 25

1 second

CU of motorbike throttle and hand

Shot 26

5 seconds

LS of motorbike and rider from ground level and up 45° in workshop.

Motorbike moves to camera then off to right.

Camera up slightly.

Shot 27

9 seconds

ELS of rider and bike.

Camera canted to right.

Camera zooms out as rider approaches.

Camera to left as rider goes past.

Shot 28

1 second

MCU of Dave Short(DS), from below looking up >45°. Unsteady.

Camera back, unsteady.

Camera moves up.

Graphic: DAVE SHORT

(5) Chief Insp Traffic, North Yorks

Shot 29

5 seconds

MCU of Man's back to camera, DS on right, up >45°.

Camera canted 45° to right. Unsteady.

Shot 30

1 second

CU of foot on motorbike starter from ground level looking up at 90°.

Shot 31

7 seconds

MLS of man and Sanders in showroom.

Shot 32

2 seconds

MLS of police car moving to right through crowd.

Camera to right.

Shot 33

2 seconds

LS of crowd from slightly above.